

ÄiHi- JMa'".";. / t&U!UtfLttci-.

J'^ 1t(sS'.^^H.X

3^arbartj €atitst tiörarB

'^n.p^^...iM>rirru..}^....y...7i:sMi^ütoL

Jews of the Atterthum

From the quettes eiiui'^ctit and put together

Professor Dr. L. Herzfeld

Second spouse.

With a t)to^riiii]iis<.'tii-n insertion'

Q-ustav Karpetes.

BrauDHctiwcf^ UU.

Stuik itud Vt'i'Iiii; vwi .loIi, [Icuic Mi">

\y

"- , #- ■"

■-C

.^)

--. ^ - ■ \ .

-.:)

Biographical introduction.

In response to many suggestions to publish a new edition of "Handet's History" in order to make this outstanding scholarly work accessible to the present generation, the author's family has given me the honorable task of providing this new edition with a foreword, and I am confident that I can accomplish this wonderful mission

I can do no better than to try to describe the life of this excellent man to a wider circle of readers. Freely, it is a pacified life of scholars; excitements and upheavals, great storms and There are no tragic conflicts to be found. The bet only ripple - but there is no storm, because the spirit of God hovers over the waters. And yet Even such a quietly contemplative life of scholarship is remarkable enough, uplifting the spirit and enlightening the heart. Also Such a macrocosm is a marvel in itself, as gi'oss and beautiful as the real one, and worth indulging in!

Levi Herzfeld was born in the small town of Ettrich am Harz in the Prussian province of Saxony on December 27, 1810. The son of a good and pious merchant, he was introduced to the study of Bibet and Tatmud at an early age. At the age of fifteen he entered the grammar school in Nordhausen, which he left after four years of attendance with the Eeife certificate. Already

At that point, one thing was certain: he wanted to become a rabbi.

Wüpzbiu'g was then the Mecca of Jewish theologians, the There, they attended the university and listened to the Tatinudian lectures of the famous chief rabbi Abraham Bing, were allowed. A large number of capable modern rabbis have come to the the Würzburg yeshiva. Herzfeld also took his steps there. But his stay in Würzburg did not last long. He preferred to return home and continue his rabbinical studies with the then rabbi of Brunswick, Samuet L. Eger, who was also regarded as a Tatmudic authority, but was also known for his moderate and tolerant views.

In April 1833, Herzfeld moved into the university Bertin , where he gave phitosophical and phitotogical lectures with Boeckh, v.Henning, Benary, K.itter, Michetet, Beneke, Steffens, Gans, Ideter, Trendetenburg, Bopp, Erdmann. Raumer nnd - Hengstenberg. In front of me The graduation certificate issued by the Rector and Senate of the University of Bertin to the candidate of philosophy Levi Herzfeld after six semesters on April 5, 1836. It is an interesting document about his life. and in two directions. Firstly, as far as it shows how ptanvott Herzfeld set up his course of study, but then proves with what zeal the young man pursued and executed it.

It should be of particular interest from a cultural-historical point of view to get to know this study ptan of a Jewish theologian from the thirties. First, Herzfeld studied encyclopaedics and the methodology of the phitosophical and phitotogical sciences, then Arabic and the geography of Palestine. In the second semester the Autigone and the Oedipus on Kotonos (with Boeckh), furthermore introduction to phitosophy, history of phitosophy and principles of natural phitosophy. In the third semester introduction to the Old Testament and explanation of Job. Furthermore, the ethics of Aiistotetes, selected chapters of the Koran and mathematical geography. In the fourth semester

Greek literary history, natural history, natural law, anthropology, history of geography and experimental physics. In the fifth semester, psychology, logic and metaphysics, Syriac and natural history. In the sixth semester, university history, religious philosophy and comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages. From the censures that Herzfeldt about these lectures, nine are labeled "excellent", eight "very good" and four only "good".

But that was only one part of his studies. Herzfeldt also listened to the Talmudic lectures of the then Berlin rabbis J. J. Oettinger and E. Rosenstein and he also enjoyed the lessons of Leopold Zunz. Herzfeldt was one of the most eager and talented of those who listened to the celebrated man's lectures on the Psalms and Jewish history.

On April 8, 1836, he was promoted to Doctor of Philosophy in Berlin on the basis of a dissertation on the chronology of the judges (*Chronologia iudicum et primorum regum hebraeorum*). The dissertation is dedicated to Zunz, whom Herzfeldt and with whom he remained in close contact from then on.

In the night cup of Leopold Zunz there is still a series of letters by Herzfeldt from that time, from which the intimate relationship between teacher and pupil clearly emerges. Zunz takes a heartfelt interest in the scientific development of his hopeful disciple; he gives him ready answers to all scientific questions. He also recommends him as a suitable candidate for the rabbinate. And in each of these letters, there is a follow-up letter to the "dear Frau Doctorin", i.e. Adette Zunz, the spiritual, ambitious wife of the celebrated man. Herzfeldt also confides his big and small worries to her and she does indeed seem to feel a truly maternal sympathy for him.C)

C) I would like to take this opportunity to thank the *Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek*. Curatorium of the Zunz - Stiftung zu Berlin for the kind willingness with which he has allowed me to review and use Herzfeldt's letters for this purpose has permitted.

YI

The first of these letters to Mrs. Adette is downright rattling, for it already tells us of deceived hopes and dreams of love that did not mature, but it also shows us

of Herzfeld's intentions. The prospect of being able to go to Itatia for a year, which was also the land of his longing, had opened up to him. With this hope came
He moved to Brunswick. There, however, he found his theui'en teacher, Rabbi Eger, in a sad situation: the worthy rabbi had almost died and could no longer fulfill the duties of his office. He asked his pupil to stay at home and stand in for him. And the latter didn't hesitate to answer the call of the leirer. With melancholy, he buried the beautiful hopes, the great plans, and worked for six years as an adjunct to his aged teacher with tireless zeal and with a selflessness that would seem like a fairy tale today, and which could only be explained by heartfelt, an
the kind of needlessness reminiscent of the atten sages. Only in the letters to his motherly friend does he express his melancholy over his dashed hopes.

Herzfeld's letters from that time are generally human documents of an importance that goes far beyond the personal.
interest, and I cannot deny myself the opportunity to at least one from this period, which seems to me to be of equal value for the characterization of the man and the time. This letter also speaks of deceived hopes. Heartfelt
had applied for a prize at Bertin University in 1834 and had been rejected. Thereupon
refers to the following letter.

Bertin, November 6, 1834.

Wetche Hoffnung mir fehtgeschtagen sei, fragen Sie so theitnehmeDd. It may be that you shake your head when you read the following, but I know youru real tatit tuid therefore I write openly. Year
The directors of the local university set a prize task, which is handed in with a sealed letter containing the name of the winner, judged and then crowned with the prize or returned with the broken letter. The task

—

VII

was theological ; I worked on them and - onemat tassen me against the modesty lacked - I ats own judge say: the work
was good; but - it pains me to have to say a word here that might cut into your soft pious soul; but God knows, I am also soft and pious - I spoke out of conviction, against a dogmatic statute; I seized, cautiously but boldly, an opinion
whose assault three hundred years ago was unfailingly condemned to the stake would have led - in short, I was through! Now I've had a good year

books and - oh, it hurts! - a hypocritical ignoramus won the day! Don't blame me, I really wanted the
 Do not prize me, I would btoos to see if I had the skill to wield the pen for a bunch of wretches, fatherless, from whom the sword has been wrested! And my first word has such a fate! ! That's why I was so courageous when I went deaf before you. But that is no longer the case, it was only a rehearsal, and what I had to check turned out, almost unconsciously, to my satisfaction. Five weeks ago a review of my unnamed work appeared in print, the Pharisaic Christian says to the unknown Jews, "that one could not deny that his writing had an ingenious arrangement, a captivating style, that it did not contain traces of ingenuity; but" - note - "the author was so un
 is ashamed to call a Bibetan story fabulous; he also has no knowledge of the Hebrew language." That is a lie. I am 24 years old, but for twenty years I have been learning the language of the Old Testament and - if it is spoken - what knowledge of the Hebrew language I have. Hebrew language, I take it with the local professors
 attesammt auf. The review is not yet finished, but I am likely to become bitter against the stupid stubbornness of Christian professors who are so unchristian and that is why I am stopping. Atso order, Stit, Scharf- sinn witt my opponent me tassen, but impudent am I? Well then, my test is done, the praise granted to me from the pen of a fanatical opponent stands me in good stead for being allowed to write for my brothers in his time, and whether I am impertinent is a matter for debate.
 urtures you ! Ats IVtotto I have placed the words on the little font which Goethe has Tasso say: "I have finished my poem, There's still a lot missing for me to do it too." This motto, too, has been coveted - incomprehensible! Oh, I could really write about today's inutility, but you wouldn't understand me, for your sea would not be able to withstand the malicious jokes of the Bertin Morat preachers. Become only your Jewish friend not abhotd."

This letter was addressed to a Christian personality.
 The judge and the critic of Herzfetd's work were one person - namely the well-known zetotic professor Hengstenberg in Bertin!

I

^ft wi

But the sdiicksat of his first word did not dishearten Herzt'etd.
 Yes, you could say that in this letter

Kichtnug were predestined. The six years that Herzfeldt spent in Braunschweig as his teacher's apprentice were a time of maturity and training for his new profession,

After Eger's death on December 3, 1842

As his successor, he was appointed rabbi to the ducal rabbinate of Brunswick. Herzfeldt remained in this position until his death on March 11, 1884. What he achieved and accomplished during this time, what he did as a rabbi and as a researcher, will be discussed in the following pages.

But if we look first of all at the life of this excellent man, one observation suggests itself to us at once: the dangerous dichotomy between the writer and the rabbi does not exist for him, nor does he subscribe to the dangerous two-ether theory that Abraham Geiger once so sharply condemned. He asked for the courage to confess as a rabbi what he had researched as a Scripture scholar. He has the courage to spare what is holy to him as a rabbi also as a scribe.

There was a researcher's instinct in a man

Never before have heartfelt piety and heartfelt piety been so harmoniously united as in Herzfeldt. From this point of view, one must be

Life and work in order to understand this and that and to do justice to both.

Ats Herzfeldt appeared, day the science of Judaism, to which he had decided to dedicate his life, was still in its infancy. Of course, these beginnings were very disastrous and could not deter a young researcher from entering this field. Rappaport had already completed his six fundamental biographies, Luzzatto had begun his grammatical and critical work; but before Attem, the classic foundation book of this science, the "Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge" by Zunz, was already available, which opened up a wide insight into the entire field of this science.

The poet's words began to come true; -Far in the East it wii'd hette - Atte times grow young." Only two paths that

ä

IX

The paths that led to this area were "until then almost untrodden: that of Bibetan criticism and that of the study of the Atttertium. The religious tradition still held the minds firmly under its spell, so that few dared to challenge the traditional views on the

and about the darkest period of Jewish history from the Babylonian Exodus to the Maccabean period.

Herzfeld was one of the first to venture into this territory. With the courage that characterized him during his whole life, he ventured fearlessly into this area. His first work was a translation and purification of the Book of Kohetet (Brannschweig 1838). As you can see, the young scholar was attracted by the most difficult and ethical aspects. It is interesting to hear how Herzfeld wrote his work. He had a habit of writing in the prefaces to the important. The aim is to provide information about the most important of his works and to give the reader and the judge an insight into his oeuvre. His prefaces are therefore of particular interest; indeed, even more, they are to a certain extent autobiographic self-confessions of unusual significance.

In the preface to his first book, Herzfeld tells the
As often as I came across Kohetet while reading the Bibet, it was painful, especially in this book,
in which an anti-biblical element is so openly revealed, the
To miss the connection; for a dark feeling, resting on the
dove, that One Spirit, the spirit of piety,
I have read through our holy writings, told me that whoever is with
The Lord is atter fine threads of the context, also
must be able to penetrate and overpower that hostile element. That
the attempts to indicate the context of the book that had come to my
attention up to that point were for a
The fact that I am a man of strict requirements and have to be
regarded as a failure has encouraged me more than deterred me
from making an attempt. I take these words at face value, with
the sincere assurance that I am not even remotely thinking of
a deletion of my possible

J

It was nothing more than a private work and was intended for practice. Now I tried to get the things I had read and heard about Kotietet out of my head for a while, and then only used the concordance as I often do. It was only when I realized that the book was connected that the thought arose in me to look for the concordance, and in the belief that it was not already there. that I have contained to make known what I would have found . . . Then I read what I had to say about the connection iu Kohetet.

- I decided in favor of the context I had found, whether I was right or not is again not my opinion. This is how I was thinking about the publication and, with the audience in mind, I set about working on the one-liner. First I went to the atten versions . . . Now came the turn of the commentaries written in Hebrew, and the not at all meagre yield which I have been able to extract from them and bring to light in my little work shows that my foremen do not seem to have used them to the extent that they deserve. At last I went to the commentaries of the Christian scholars; they were unproductive, with the exception of the very good Knobet, to whom I owe much. After I had collected the available material and tried to increase it through constant study, I turned to processing it."

Thus Herzfeldt sought to introduce readers to the nature of his work from the very beginning of his literary activity. But did he succeed in his first attempt? About that may be the judgment of a great connoisseur, for no less a person than Leopold Zunz has spoken publicly about this work. His advertisement of it in the "Israetitische An- naten" (1839, 102) was certainly the most effective recommendation for the

I Author. In this advertisement, Zunz, who was known to be a harsh critic, states frankly: "The author's prudent study, supported by proficient knowledge, has produced a work that was not made superfluous by famous predecessors . . . We recommended the thorough commentary

I

XI

every learner. < This was not only a critic's sentiment for his author, but also, and even more so, that of the teacher for his faithful pupil.

Anyone who has studied Kohetet in depth will necessarily be led to the period in which we seem to be looking for the origin of the book.

that period of foreign domination that swung its iron rod over Israet, that time of ferment and religious skepticism, of struggle and doubt, of hostile parties and

The controversial views of betting, which makes us understand the wistful cry of the preacher: "Eitetkeit, attes Eitetkeit, Attes ist eitet!

But no period of Jewish history and Jewish intellectual life is as unknown as this one, for which there are
narr lacks too many historical quotations. Only the canon provides the guideline for the beginnings of this period. Any historical depiction of this period must therefore first of all necessarily be

to approach the study of the last books of the canon. Herzfeld now also undertook this attempt boldly and impartially, although, or perhaps precisely because he knew what difficulties had to be overcome in this field, in which the wanderer had to make his own way step by step. Here, the bold explorer was not daunted by the footpaths and setoffs.

In addition, there was another important circumstance that Herzfeldt selbst writes: "The Jewish Reformation had put back its boyhood, the movements in the synagogue became more serious, Geiger published his journal. At the enemies of a scientific Jewish theology began to rumble, it was foreseeable that - when the first disturbances were over, the opponents of the old religious view and practice would have to raise the historical proof of that origin to a question of life. But then, as every initiate is sufficiently aware, the battle would have to focus precisely on that

period of time; in it the Schachteldtder sporadically day in advance vertheilt and Hessen recognize themselves without Seherbuch.

To get to know this battlefield as precisely as possible and)

^^L giose

^^H gesch

wie weit die ertaugte Kenntniss reichen würde, zu zeichnen, ersciien mir als eine so sctiöne Aufgabe, daas iu mii- der Entschtnss reifte, den angegebenen Zeitrann zu bearbeiten.«

Icti eutnetune these words of the preface, with the heartfett introduced his readers to his second work; but this was also his life's work, the "Geschtiiebte des Votkes Israet von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempets bis zur Einsetzung des Makkabäers Schimon zum Hohenpriester und Fürsten." Almost twenty years he worked continuously on this work, with Fteiss and love, with expertise and total dedication to the subject matter. The result is a book that can justifiably and genuinely be called

"was allowed to call a work deusctien Fteissesc.

The genesis of this work is interesting; we can follow it in detail in the prefaces that Herzfeldt gave to each volume as a kind of history report.

The first volume, covering the history from the destruction of the first temple to the time of Ezra, was published in Brunswick in 1847 by George Westermann. Herzfeld opened the volume with the following confession: "The period of Jewish history, from the destruction of the first temple to the Maccabean battles, has shown me the peculiar incompleteness of what I have heard from it.

I was attracted to him in a special way from a young age. I saw in the history books these five hundred years are usually covered in a few pages, while I - at first felt darkly and later realized that this period could not have been so long in content; I also saw, even in the better history books, that the thread of the narrative was not spun calmly through these few pages, but was artificially knotted, was completely fattened and another one was taken up again for it: what happened between the separate ends was not a matter of time.

I was preoccupied with the question of what might have happened before I thought about working on this period." This purely historical interest was then joined in the mid-fifties by a religious interest, which I have described above in Herzfeld's own words. But it was precisely from this quarter that the

Difficulties with which a Jewish theologian in particular had to struggle when dealing with this period.

Herzfeld frankly declares that "criticism for the Jewish Spiritualities are still a "slippery ground". But even this obstacle did not deter him; his motto remains: *In arduis votuisse sat est* and with this motto he went to the

. Work - and to wetche work!

f "My first attempt was to understand the Bible and to

to me critically. A double business is known, which is mutually dependent . . . That double transaction was to be made on the Apocrypha . . . Thereupon what was useful was gathered from the Talmic literature and the Midrashim . . . The Christian Church Fathers then provided a rich harvest, the Zend Avesta an even better one. From the Greek and Roman historians I went through those who promised any profit . . . From more recent works that I have used for my purpose There is no similar classification, they are listed on pages 271 to 277. The material accumulated in this way now had to be worked through: this business and the earlier one took more than six years, the preparation of the present first volume another three. I beg my readers not to take these words as an ostentation, for they may even lead to a contrary view; I would like to

views in this work a mature examination." With a very remarkable
- for his religious views

Erwerthen Äussening writes the preface . . . "I am sure that

it frustrates that I have written it into the religious field

Einschtagende sine aet studio, and I will also in this

continue. At a time like the present, when partisanship

and party bias, I will probably see Kide Lager, to what extent

they take cognizance of this work, to get me in harness; our

new attention

' -again- reproach that I write cum ira, and our attention new ones that
I write cum studio. In the eyes of unbiased friends of the truth,
may these two approaches neutralize each other! I

I

XIV

have never written, spoken or acted in the service or under the
influence of a party, and least of all in this book. This
deception will appease only a few.

tigen; that was still a good time for Jewish writers, and I years
ago Tomah me, this gate word with the well-known

words: si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti, si non,
Ins, utere mecum. These times will not return until this whole
history rests in the grave; our grandchildren will see them, they
must be fought for, but the present is harsh and unfriendly."

The honest and open, frank and bold manner alone must make the
reader sympathize with the author. But this sympathy grows as we
approach the book itself. Above all, we admire the historical
approach, which is not content to organize and justify the facts,
but rather to trace the context of the phenomena in a
comprehensive manner.

It is looking for. We then admire the profound honor,
who is at home in both domestic and foreign worlds, who has
mastered so many languages and literatures. We admire
the simple matter, and by the great honorableness
unclouded presentation of historical events, and

I would argue that hardly any other historian of this period, Jew or non-Jew, achieved such objectivity. Levi Herzfeld was a warm and convincing historian.

faithful Jew. The epoch he undertook to write is perhaps the most significant in the history of the Israeli

I see Votkes; a time of powerful shocks, deep humiliation and great elevation, but not even a hint of passion clouds his performance! Not even in one moment do we hear the Jewish preacher; always the heart of the calmly and impartially evaluating people and events Historian.

The second volume of the story was published in 1854. The work had to pass into the hands of another publisher, who for which he was given an independent title ("History of the Votkes Jisrael from Votkung of the second Temple) until the installation

XV

of Shimon the Maccabee as High Priest and Prince"). In the preface to this second volume, Herzfeld also gives his readers an account of his work in his usual manner. He also talks about the assessments of the first volume from: -This has been blamed and rebuked, I am as grateful for the latter as for the former, as far as it was done with good intentions, but must, as far as it can have an influence on the assessment of this sequel, object to the rebuke of a respectable assessor, that I have tried too hard to fathom the details and have not pursued more detailed points of view, I must be reminded that the most careful examination of the details is the most necessary for the present stage of the study of Jewish history.- He gladly accepts the reproach made to him from one side that Ewald and he had made history the subject of exegesis instead of its mistress. <

Towards the end of 1856, the third volume of the i "History of the Votkes Jisrael". In the preface to this volume, Herzfeld takes issue with his critics.

He has been accused of having combined the Jewish quotations with those of the rest of the history of competition quite arbitrarily; it is not difficult for him to reject this reproach. He also rejected the accusation that "this work shows anew that the rise of modern Judaism paves the way for Christianity". This is by no means the way to the Jewish vote, - he calmly endures. He contrasts the often diametrically opposed judgments of various readers with a humor worthy of love. But he takes a sharp stance against any injustice.

Although he knows that this will bring him back to the court

He writes as follows: "Now that this preface has also been written, I have come to the end of a work on which I have worked over eighteen years, with great love, this testimony I may give myself; I have written on it in good as well as in bad days; this al'heity has still increased the good ones and contributed to my consolation in the bad ones; with this received reward I am completely satisfied, and God, in

xvr

to whose service this work has been written, be sincerely thanked for the strength he has given me so far! May he not fail me in the future either!"

If we now want to hear a competent judgment about the Geaaniint work, we will give the word to Jost, as we did about the first Zunz. The latter recognizes in the work a significant advance in the investigation of the story, the result of excellent research, proficient prudence and honest wisdom. The "author observes an overly developed subject with great care and prudence.

heit, decomposes the quettes down to the most minute constituents, gives the most accurate, often

very circumstantial accountability and would have stayed away from preconceived notions and any second guessing . . . To every friend of history this work will offer a hated quota of worship.

(Israetitischer Votkatehrer V, 300).

There is hardly anything to add to such a judgment and from such a maaas-giving side. Euf Herzfetd'a as a historian was secured once and for all by this work. However far research has progressed in the criticism of the Quetten and That- Although the historical research of Herzfetd has progressed in the meantime, it still has great value.

In 1862, volumes 2 and 3 of the work were published by the The first edition was published by A. Büchting in Nordtiansen and then by C. Witfferodt in Leipzig, who organized a new edition. In the introduction to the second edition, Herzfetd could recommend his work to the favor of the readers with a clear conscience: "That it is not yet in the slightest, I believe with the utmost impartiality to be able to assure you, for no new treatment of the period which it treats of has yet been published from any quarter; and what has since been discussed or touched upon by others in scattered treatises of the individual points which it embraces, I have, as far as my knowledge goes, always conscientiously gone through, but without any special yield and still less

shaken. I can't defend myself against anyone who thinks this is presumptuousness or a false phrase."

xvii

That was in the year 1862, and it seems like a triumph of historical research that Herzfeld, when he was eight years old. He was only able to "pass" the essential content of his historical exposition in spite of the many subsequent requests to present the content of his great work in a shorter and more popular form. Only the honored excurses, which he had to give to justify his presentation, but in which he also gave the most important achievements of his critical acumen, were omitted in this popular work, which is one of the most important works of his time.

Publications of the "Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur" under the title "Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Makkabäers Schimon

high priest and prince, according to his three-volume work of the same title in a shorter version and revised. (Leipzig 1870, Oscar Leiner) was published.

Incidentally, three of the most extensive of the above-mentioned excurses were published separately in 1816 under the title "Drei Abhandlungen zur Synagogen-Geschichte" (Nordhausen 1846, A-Büchling). They contain Herzfeld's honored and deeply penetrating research on some Biblical books, on the origin of the canon and on Hebrew characters. From

He did not later have to part with the views he had set down in these books; it was only through the Book of Daniel that he came to other views, which he wanted to present in a special study of this rhetorical work. However, he was no longer able to do so, because he still, indeed right into his

In the last years of his life, he was preoccupied with the great period of history to which he has now dedicated his life. Still there were many aspects of this period to be examined. First of all, the ways in which the trade and commerce of the time developed had to be traced, and in connection with this stood the no less important question of the coins and measures of the period. In the same year in which he published the second edition of his historical work, he also published the result of his one-day research "Metrological Investigations

zu einer Geschichte des jüdischen bzw. antijüdischen Handels" (Leipzig 1863, I. Heft, Leipzig 1865, II. Heft). He was mainly motivated to work on this subject by the conviction that

They were forced upon them by imperious geactiichttiehe Vurgä.oge, but that they have also earned great merit for the culture of the Vötter precisely by practicing and developing this type of intercourse.

Herzfeld was not a man who stopped at preliminary examinations; rather, he was always and above all looking for the core of the

He was also able to carry out thoroughly what he had begun, and his studies led him further and further in this field until, after more than nine years, he was able to come out with the work whose second edition is presented here, the *-Handetsgeschichte der Juden des Atterthums*" (Brunswick 1879).

We have already observed that cardiac fat with pre-deep untraveled paths. Here, too, there was a historical primeval forest to be explored. Never before had the history of the Jewish handet been the subject of an in-depth investigation; it took a great deal of knowledge, a tireless determination that no mother could resist, and the critical acumen that Herzfeld possessed to breathe life into this reproach. And so the present

The book was published to widespread acclaim and great appreciation from the very first time it appeared.

of the authoritative criticism. Whereht day also here the

The question of whether it would not be appropriate to utilize the results of more recent research for this second edition was rather obvious. Here, too, the same phenomenon emerged as with Herzfeld's great work on history: the essential results of his research are as clear today as they were then, they have not been suppressed or ignored. Unfortunately, however, the same reasons and accusations against which Herzfeld directed his work are still commonplace today.

The importance that Israet had for the culture of the atten Wett also extended to other, seemingly distant places.

XIX

The truth, however, lies in nearby areas. The history of the Atten Israetites' dealings with the neighboring peoples led from the beginning to an examination of what they have achieved in the various fields of art. In 1863 Herz-

f etd in the Brunswick "Kunst -Ctub" "Zwei Vorträge über die Kunstteistungen der Hebräer und atten Juden" (Two lectures on the artistic achievements of the Hebrews and the Jews), which were published under the same title together with the writings of the "Institut zur För- derung der israetitischen Literatur" a year later (Leipzig 1864, Oscar Leiner). Here, too, Herz- fetd ats a pathfinder on untrodden paths. He begins with

Then he moves on to landscape art, to sculpture and material, to dance and music; his presentation is characterized by poetry and eloquence. He can hope for the approval of his listeners when he concludes with the statement "that, although it was not the fulfillment and cultivation of the arts but of religion that was Israel's highest task and his heart's desire, it was also to have lined his place with honors to the fat of art."

In fact, if we survey the wide area that Herzfeld has filled with his historical works, we may well apply the prophet's words to him: "And through you, time-barred odes will be rebuilt, the ruins of past histories will be raised up again and you will be recognized as one of the most important figures in history."

name : Rissevermaurer, restorer of the paths to the resting place ! "

His love for the ruins of past history and his work forever. And on the threshold of his seventieth year, when others like to take a well-earned rest, the old researcher turns once again with great vigor to the love of his youth. Once again he goes back to the Semitic primeval age, where he has spent his whole life in vain.

Now the language of the fathers casts a spell over him. And after four years later his great philological work appeared: " Einblicke in das Sprachliche der semitischen Urzeit, betreffend die Entstehungsweise der meisten hebräischen Wortstämme " (Hanover 1883, Hahn). It was his swan song.

I don't know whether Herzfeld's intention to prove the that, and in what way the plural number of the Hebrew

XX

word stemming from ättereue, einfactieren, has been achieved in this work. But I know that he also has blazed uncharted trails here and paved new paths into the gloom of prehistoric times. He was well aware of this, that he only started the big company, but not vott-ended; in his simple way he also expresses this unapologetically and encourages younger forces to continue on the path they have once trodden, >seeing and complementing the Semitic tribes."

"Then wii-d too" - he concludes this and also his life's work - "but not before the time has come, for the task already touched on in the introduction, to investigate prudently whether Semitic word stems are related to Indo-European ones and how many of them are, and whether according to this already in

the Jewish branch of which he was later again and presumably for ever divorced, a destiny that I do not by any means wish for, even if I would like Japhet to become a guest."

Alas, it was a pious wish; but not only was the researcher not destined to fulfill it, the fulfillment i

On the contrary, he experienced a sad example of Japhet's inhumanity to himself on the evening of his rich earthly life, just as he did at the beginning of his scientific career. He, whose research in the fifties was greeted with warm appreciation even in non-Jewish intellectual circles, whom a man as Theodor Mommsen, as the first and most reliable attester Jewish historian, he had to suffer a vicious attack for his last work in a time of attgemeiner mores Verwitderung, which has emerged undoubtedly from the same attitude, which the modern movement Japheth against poor Shem.

A southern German scholar reviewed his latest book in in a prestigious scientific journal and said that the set was "a symptom of that widespread Semitic inertia which does not shy away from the most eldritch stuff.

^m xxi I

Bttf the book market." In a profound "manner and without a single word of friendly recognition for the work of a life consecrated to the service of science, but also without the slightest attempt to provide evidence for this sharp assessment.

ixrtheüung that ki-itic advertisement was written. Then Herz- f etd still amat, although seriously ill, to the pen. His K'ptik's response to this massive attack (Attgemeine Zeitung des Juden- fctiwns, 48th year, no. 10) is as honest and dignified, but also as open and resolute, as his entire work has always been. He protests against the hard work and would have called every sentence "exemplarily unjust." But no harsh word escapes his pen. His critic has six words i

to prove that he "did not understand Syrian at all and i not much more. - But he is content to prove the injustice of these attacks. But he doesn't even think about it, to attribute the violent attack to the fact that he was Syrian uni studied Arabic at a time when that wise critic had not yet seen the light of day. Wailingly calls

he said: "Even my Hebrew found no mercy in his sight, he did not reproach me for it.

lacked even the empirical knowledge of the subject matter, although I started learning Hebrew at the age of four and during the

spent a single day without Hebrew studies. The blush of shame rises to one's face at such unacceptable treatment, and I break off, realizing that despite attem

Jews are not in a position to fight with the anti-Semites.

I at times, but would do better to wait patiently for the im- I - winjn;!!! of justice and humanity in them." ^^ This self-defense was Herzfeld's last literary work for two weeks later he was dead . , . In a

^^^H C) The Nsichtiasse Herzfeld's contains, among other things, the manuscript of an excellent lecture on the >Teufels- ^^B^ben," an extensive essay = 'Zar Frage von der Glaubwürdigkeit der Hpt^UBchen Erzählungen," as well as from strictly scientific works "Wieder- I ^rwählungen" and Beiträge zur Kunde von Bibel, Talmud und Midrasch,"

vielleicht letztere Schrift schon sehr weit fortgeschritten, aber leider nicht zu Ende geführt ist.

A society that contains so much of the light must not lack shadows. Scientific anti-Semitism was destined to carry this shadow into the stubbornly surrounded, honorable heart of Herzfeld.

From his first timid beginnings to his praiseworthy end, we have covered this scholar's life outline, but the biography of Herzfeld is not yet complete; for the rabbi is no less important and capable and also interesting than the shifstetter. Indeed, the question remains open as to which area of his work was more beneficial and important. But the fact that he never, not even in one moment of his life, venerated or even harmed one area for the sake of the other, points to the harmony of his life that we have already spoken of above.

Levi Herzfeld was a called and enthusiastic rabbi, In order to understand his theological work, we need to get to know the period in which he first appeared. It was the early days of the Jewish Renaissance. The science of Judaism led to a reform of Jewish life, worship and youth education. The reestablishment of the Eabbinerthum on the Grandtage modern Bildung became the most powerful lever of this reform. A number of men emerged who, with Jewish knowledge as well as with the degree of their The richly endowed, free development of the nineteenth century, which was the core of the Judaism of super pigeons and molds.

myds, but also resolute opposition, Herzfeld now also entered this battle of wits with great ^ strength. >

He had a deeply religious mind and was a (IberzeugtetTj Jew, but he also had a clear mind, a sharpüji
üitheit, a wealth of knowledge and he was a patriotic German^>-j The balance of these real or apparent opposites was his f "C'" "..." " ^ ' "

. Efforts from a young age.

M

XXIII

And this also needs to be emphasized: Herzfeld was a Reformjude. Not in the sense in which the word today, for example, but rather in the context of the word's most noble meaning. He recognized that every era, even before the present, had the right to continue the religious development in its own sense, to abandon the rigid forms and to carry on the ideas of Judaism. But He was also imbued with a deep love for this Judaism; he knew its history intimately and would never have He offered his hand to break off the link with the past. Only on the historical foundation of scientific Judaism did he want to erect the building of his reform, and he would not have abandoned even the last and most insignificant statute without historical justification for the sake of competitive advantage. Thus, if the paradox were permitted, one could say of him that he was the representative of conservative reform.

It is important to note that Herzfeld entered office with these views. He has not undergone any development in the field of religion, which is associated with fierce sectarian battles. No progress and no reaction was able to make him unfaithful to his convictions. Even in the days when the early spring storm of reform roared through the country, he kept away from youthful impetuosity and any excesses. And at the days of a gloomy reaction dawned, he remained undeterred raised the banner of progress. And he remained faithful to this banner until his grave.

It was a stroke of luck for Herzfeld that he had a teacher like

which divided the communities elsewhere, had already been decided in Brunswick. Samuet Eger was one of the deadliest and the most enlightened of the atten rabbis, although he still found the courage to speak out against the reforms of the then consistory president Israet Jacobson in 1810. He later became friends with some of the more far-reaching reform attempts as they progressed. He also introduced confirmation for the female gender and allowed the German element into the liturgy of the Brunswick synagogue. The congregation

SXIV

She was a content and peaceful woman who obeyed her sea shepherd and followed his words.

Herzfetd took up his post under such auspices. First of all, as I have already mentioned above, as adjunct to his elderly teacher, to whom he remained faithful until the grave. beyond that. A characteristic confession of this faith are the words that Herzfetd spoke at the tomb of Eger: "This stone, peaceful community has absorbed the achievements of the young age; it has emerged from the turmoil not only with luck, but even without a fight. Not far from it, why the difficult questions of the day are turning, she has always been aware of the importance of the fight; not even to the extent that she has taken it too lightly. i separated from the interests of her foreign sisters, but only and atteiu, far a Manu in their midst tebte and stood at their head, who had been appointed by God to guide the ship entrusted to him through the surf into a safe harbor with a skillful pitot's hand. He knew Judaism and its eternal value and its indestructible greatness; he clung to it with every fiber of his heart and that is why his word had a good ring in the ears of our brothers near and far. . . But he also knew the aspirations and desires of the younger generation, he recognized for the most part what was good in them and did not dismiss it out of hand and did more for it than anyone from the atten Schute. For example, when it was argued whether the religious initiation of Jewish boys should remain an empty form or whether it should become an act that seized the souls, he took this decision with the dignity of a patriarch and the question was decided in these matters of the father's state. When the dispute arose as to whether the female sex should take part in it or remain as it had been in the past, he was among the first to speak out against the spiritual bondage of the morning state, which was so rich in religiosity, and after him, he was among the first to speak out against the spiritual bondage

of the morning state.

in subsequent communities are his work, even if he is not remembered. When a few years ago daa

XXV

German Israel was in danger of being divided into two camps because of changes in the prayer book, so he was the one who set a pious example and after him no one dared to deny the purification of our worship as impious. "

Eabbi Samuet Eger also loved his patron Herz- fetd like a friend, and the cooperation between the two led to many a reforming institution, most notably the German Etement in the synagogue liturgy, peacefully introduced. This already happened in 1840 and was motivated by Herzfetd in a sermon (Eraunschweig 1842), which was also presented in German. Two years later, he carried out the intention he had already announced there, attes the German he had created in photo of the new introduced into the liturgy used there and still intended to introduce, and thus present them to the judgment of a larger public. This writing has the title : "The German in the liturgy of the Brannschweiger Synagogue, introduced under the current provincial rabbi S. L. EgerC (Braunschweig J844, Fr. Vieweg), I will come back to the content of this sctirift; before that, however, I would like to make the following addition, namely with Herzfetd's his own words, which he spoke on the occasion of the unburial of his teacher's stone: >I have been accused from some quarters of having passed off our agendas as the work of the man resting here, but that they were only my work. be. I testify here before God and beside the ashes of my deceased eternal teacher that I told him immediately before its confirmation that he should refrain from taking this step if he was not in complete agreement with himself. And he did so, not of his own accord, but at the suggestion of his good I Fotgen and the practicedo Fotgen of his submission; but voluntarily and unspeaking and was glad and happy, ats the good Fotgen • of his courageous step sobatd stood out." So the The soil for sowing in Brannschweig is excellent and there is hardly a German municipality better suited to this purpose than this one. ' Execution of the first major attempt to transfer the ideas of the reforms into life.

SXVt

The suggestion for this came from the uneniiied Lud
Ptiitippson, who sctiou published an eloquent speech in 1C^43
and sent it on 2ö. March 1844 to the heads
The Jewish community of Brunswick asked the israetite community
of Brunswick whether this city would be suitable for a meeting of
German rabbis, after Herzfetd had already given his joyful
consent to this plan. The leaders of the Jewish community in
Brunswick agreed to the proposal.
and so the first rabbinical meeting could be held in Brunswick on
June 12, 1844. The organization of the meeting was a major
achievement of Herzfetd,
who took this first step towards unity and liberation with great
enthusiasm.

According to the assurance of an impartial historian, the
gathering at the sotche was a brilliant phenomenon. But among the
25 rabbis and preachers, some of whom already had a recognized
reputation, the young Brunswick rabbi stood out due to his manly
dignity, great honor, clarity and decisiveness. The situation was
by no means easy for him, who had hardly been in office for any
other years; but if you read the minutes of the first rabbinical
meeting carefully, you have to admit that
he also proved himself in this difficult situation. It was up to
the young preacher to welcome the congregation with a speech. On
the Sabbath before this meeting, he had spoken of be-
The sermon was delivered by one of the famous preachers and, on
the occasion of the unburying of the tombstone, the above-
mentioned memorial speech for his immortalized predecessor. At all
these occasions, Herzfetd appeared without shyness or acceptance,
but courageously and powerfully. At the opening of the sessions ba
He greeted the congregation with the following words: "Blessed
is he who comes in the name of God, you have come in the name
of God, receive his blessing from the mouth of a
he youngest of our brothers, but he only entered this place to
welcome you into the midst of his congregation. That came
from God, wimderbar in our eyes . . . I am sure that I do not
stand alone with this conviction, rather you do.

tUtCUI OW) - m

XXVII

I feel that I am standing here with a divine message and
therefore nothing and nobody in your happy business
will take counsel, ats the inner voice of God, not men.
not the fear of man, but only and attein

Herzfeld spoke along the same lines in the sermon he preached in the synagogue in Braun on the Sabbath of June 15, 1844.

and which, like the welcoming speeches and the Memorial speech at Antage 3, 4, 5 is printed in the minutes of the meeting. In this speech he discusses the two opposing directions in Judaism. He discusses the Auf-

The rabbi's role between the disputing parties with pithy words and fresh enthusiasm. In the assembly itself, he is one of the representatives of consistent reform. Already

When asked whether the purpose of the meeting was to discuss and express opinions or to deliberate and pass resolutions, Herzfeld spoke out firmly in favor of the latter, saying: "Our main concern is that what is decided through deliberation is carried out. There have been sensible ideas in the past; but we must give life to ideas. Whoever asks for free opinion must ask for free action. But conscience must not be violated." If the other participants had spoken out just as boldly, the first rabbinical meeting would have produced greater results. Herzfeld also always spoke out strongly and decisively during the subsequent discussions. This he was also appointed to a commission with Hotdheim and Geiger. He was chosen to advise on the marriage laws, and he gave an historical account of the Jewish oath as it was still practiced at that time.

Mittheiten. He also voted in favor of the motion to retain the Hebrew language in the service, but not to neglect the German element. Also in the commission

he was elected alongside Satomon and Maier for the introduction of a synagogue order. On the issue of mixed marriages, he spoke

in principle in favor, in practice against, saying :

^Christian love for Jews has not yet reached the point where a marriage between Jews and Christians is possible.

xxvm

^^K the
part ^^H
grii

He did not consider it justifiable to distinguish between doctrine and life through the adoption of several Sabbath and dietary laws. He believes that the congregation should were not concerned with removing rabbinical obstacles, but not biblical ones. From these few statements alone, it can be seen that Herzfeld within the first Babbiner verse

The second rabbinical meeting, which took place from Ift. to 28 July 1845 in Frankfurt a. M., Herzfeld was very eagerly involved. On the question of the necessity of the Hebrew language in church services, he expressed himself in the same mediating sense as a year earlier. He would not objectively have the Hebrew in public worship, but subjectively considers it necessary. He wishes that the dove the Messiah is taken into account in the prayers, whereas he is wasting the removal of any memory of the sacrificial cultus.

Herzfeld was one of the most active members of the third rabbinical assembly, which took place in Breslau from June 1, 1846 to July 24, 1846. Of particular interest here are his speeches on the Sabbath, on second holidays, on the liturgical question and on mourning customs. Herzfeld was a member

Commission for the revision of marriage laws, dietary laws and the liturgical commission. He also worked diligently in the commissions with the tireless enthusiasm that was now his own. One result of this work was what also wrote "Proposals for a reform of Jewish marriage laws"

(Braunsctiweig 1846, Job. Heinr. Meyer).

From the storm that the three Rabbinerversammungen of their It is difficult to form an accurate idea of the effects of the time. The Institute was attacked by the followers of the Atten just as much as by the champions of stormy progress. The turmoil in the communities increased more and more; moreover, the members of the association The meeting itself was divided. Herzfeld's position within his community remained unchallenged, but outside of it, he was often attacked and criticized. You can understand this when you read Herzfeld's

The question of reforms in the Jewish ministry. Basically, there was still little understanding for his view of historical reform. People were surprised when he argued in favor of (hypocrisies that were not essential). seemed, while he knew the historical meaning; one was no less surprised when he went against custom, which he wanted to retain for reasons of expediency, having recognized its insignificance from the "historical" development. Thus he also maintained his point of view in that meeting of scholars. And it was only later developments that justified this point of view.

Do we now have Herzfeld's opinion on the reforms within the
has become acquainted with the Jewish deaf community, L'wii' must
now, in the necessary^ context, be his place at

■ Seetsorger as a preacher within his own congregation
contemplate. And this contemplation offers a truly pleasing bit:
the bit of a pastor who remained faithful and loyal to his
congregation in good times and bad, even through the passing of
the years and the ages. The characteristic features of this prayer
will be given to us later in the speeches that
spoken at the Führer's grave.

It speaks for Herzfeld's determination and firmness of character
that he endeavored from the very beginning to get his re-
ligious direction into the community. His special
His main concern was the liturgy, on which he worked incessantly.
In 1856 he presented his congregation with his prayer book
'Tefittas Jisraet' (Brunswick 1855, Joh. Heinr. Meyer), the result
of many years of scientific and practical observations, which was
published in 1874 in the second, greatly enlarged edition. On this
occasion, Herzfeld undertook to inform his congregation of the
reasons for the revision of the prayer book; he also spoke about
the reforms in the Cuttut in the following terms: "No matter how
much I
was already convinced that the overdeepened Jewish Cuttut,

r

I;

XXX

In spite of its great advantages and precisely for the purpose of
a "votdei" de-velopment of the same, it is in need of a thorough
reorganization, but it has long been convinced that this
reorganization will only be beneficial if
they are constantly invented; not in the sense that, in the most
kleinsten interstices, but in this, but in that theme of the Cuttut
changed
would, which even appears to be a very lenient approach, but that
only after a longer interim period would the entire Cuttut be
subjected to a careful revision anew and that whatever then
appeared ripe for introduction or elimination at the current
stage would be introduced or eliminated at the same time: the
almost opposing advantages of progress and yet also of
consistency in the Cuttut seem to be able to be united here. My
community has approved this procedure and

In this way, in 1842, 1854 and then again in 1874 a reform of the liturgy came about peacefully. Herzfeld also proved himself to be a level-headed man in this area, to whom peace and unity, but also progress and reform, were very close to his heart. It was precisely here that his historical point of view before attempting to create a foundation. Let us now look at Herzfeld's prayer book from this point of view. more precisely, we find that the ancient Jewish prayers, except for ge- The German translation of the prayers is intended for those who either do not know or do not like to pray in Hebrew. The German element contains some new prayers and songs. Herzfeld devoted special attention to the singing in dei' liturgy. Already in his first agenda (1844) he gave a selection of psalms which he had transcribed himself. The gift was modest but valuable. The prayer book also contains beautiful songs and chorales, and we get to know Herz- feld from a completely new side, namely as a poet, a sincere piety of the heart, a deep love for his religion and a heartfelt enthusiasm for his profession made the serious, stern, indeed often sober researcher in ge- hours to a poet, who has expressed his most serene feelings

J.

XXXI

with poetic verve. A deep religious feeling speaks from these songs, from which we get to know the poet's seriousness of life and his pigeon-proofness. In their simplicity, brevity and intimacy, they are reminiscent of the biblical subversions, but there is no lack of independence of thought, the expression of a free poetic feeling that rises above all dogmatic barriers.

As in the liturgy, Herzfeld was also atten- He endeavored to abolish abuses and introduce reforms in these areas. As early as 1844, he ventured into an area that had previously been left completely untouched due to a misunderstanding of piety, namely that of mourning customs. And 22 years later he published a "Revidirte Agende der Gebräuche und Gebete in Sterbefällen" (Brunswick 1866, Joh. Heinr. Meyer) was published.

It is self-evident that H e r z f e l d would discuss his religious direction as well as every single reform with the congregation.

his work, namely his effectiveness as a pulpit orator.

First, the biblical aspects should be mentioned. Herzfeld published the following sermons: "Zwei Predigten" (Brunswick 1838), "Predigt" (Brunswick 1842), "Zwei Predigten über die Lehren vom Messias" (Brunswick 1844), "Enthatten our biblical writings do not actually contain the doctrines that are often denied to them? A sermon" (Brunswick 1845), "The ret religious reform, discussed in a sermon . . . , in the neue Synagoge zu Nordhausen, den Tag nach ihrer Einweihung " (Nordhausen 1845), "Predigten" (Nordhausen 1858, 2nd edition Leipzig 1863), "Predigt zum Jubetfeste des 1000jährigen Bestehens der Stadt Braunschweig" (Braunschweig 1861), "Eine Pfingstpredigt" (Leipzig 1863), "Drei Predigten" (Leipzig 1863), "Predigt zur Jubetfeier am 18. October 1863, am 1. Tag des Passachfestival in 1871, "Zwei Predigten zur Einweihung der neuen Synagoge" (Brunswick 1875).

If you want to get to know Herzfeld's way of preaching, one must study his sermon collection published in 1858. Like Überatt, Herzfeld is also original and interesting here.

XXXII

His preaching style is very different from that of most of his contemporaries. He also speaks about this with great freedom of spirit in the preface to his sermon collection. Only in the he decided to publish his sermons and it was only the insistence of his congregation and many friends that made it possible. was able to overcome the fears he harbored for good reasons before a publication. "But I look forward to the inevitable rejection with all the greater serenity, because I have never sought the glory of an artist or genius. or votttönenden Kanzeltredner have mistaken; I vomit the The preacher's task was to teach religion and morality and to bring it warmly to the heart."

Strangely enough, however, this collection contains only 28 sermons from his early period, namely from the years 1841 ^ to 1844. Herzfeld also gives the reason for this in his preface; -I have the fate to belong to the "reformers". tion. Now I have often found the opinion spread that the reformist rabbis have been doing this for the past year In the pulpit, they did nothing more than oppose, seethe, subjugate the old religion, and in return, they practiced their new wisdom. What was good in this country was not even considered. The Biblical statutes were never recommended; even the teachings were only presented in the most modern form and were not Jewish. This widespread opinion to contradict

years, in which the urge for reform was perhaps the most intense in this human race and on my part; for as soon as the most necessary were accomplished here, I was content to admit that in such matters progress must always be made only after great hesitation; and I do not remember having heard another sermon after the year 1845.

^^ Except in the year 1848, when we were granted full citizenship, we had to abandon some of the obsolete forms of prayer. In the sermons now, which are from

^^m those reforming years of 1841-1844 and almost

^^B the hats that I had during that period, ^^H there are certainly places that serve the reform, and

which I do not ziirüekiifetime, as this whole version is not remotely a repentant peecavi invotviren ; I had much more even today a prudent and gentle, but more far-reaching reform for the most important thing to save the Jews from the Verfatte, with which, at least in these countries,

the newer betting days threatened it. But whoever reads through these sermons will find that in the sermons themselves reform was spoken of only briefly, only briefly, only briefly, but that in addition to this, the most frequent, detailed and warmest discussion was given to that which belongs in a Jewish pulpit, but which the furor of the reformist rabbis would have relegated to the background; and he would be able to conclude from this that after the tide had gone out, the speech was quiet and harmless.

fiesst, which is soviet teichter and tohnender. And as I will have done it quite atte my "CoUegen gteicher direction. I expect little correction of the views from these times, for those who have disowned us will continue to do so: but that should not prevent me from writing them down."

Herzfetd made this interesting confession at a time when It is a new testimony to his manly courage and his pithy attitude. But it also characterizes his way of preaching, which, as I said, was unique. What Herzfetd

by the preacher, he has done that himself to a high degree. His preaching style is powerful and clear, simple and straightforward. He always proclaims pure, unadulterated Judaism, the religion of love and truthfulness. But his sermons are also of truly practical value and'

filled with a free spirit. His language is dignified, his presentation true to the truth, at decisive moments lively and enthusiastic, but never engaging in rhetorical fiction and verbosity, but always dignified and serious, filled with pure human love and deep spirituality. He did not follow famous patterns, and he does not follow any textbook of homiletics. He is an enemy of piety,

He wants to pray more than he wants to stir and so he pulls the topic

J

xxxiv

the purely rhetorical dictum. Thus, some of his sermons appear almost like a lecture, as he places greater value on persuasion than on edification. A few examples may confirm this.

Herzfeld's peculiar view of preaching in general is already evident in his choice of topics. Since he is mainly concerned with teaching, he prefers to choose such topics, through which he also

can pray effectively from the pulpit. We find in his The collection of speeches on truthfulness, on freedom of choice, on the power of example, on lack of measure, but also on joy, on autumn and home, and then on the following topics: - In what way do we have to accept the suffering imposed on us? What remains for us in the change of things?

us?< "Do not torment yourself with worries!" "Wherein God inflicts unprotected suffering and even imposes it too widely."

"Of the spirit of God in man." "Of the possibility and serenity

In these lectures, Herzfeld stood entirely on the ground of the general religion of competition

of the prophets; he taught the purest moral teachings, self-sacrificing human love, truthfulness and freedom.

But no less often did he deal with the inner questions of Judaism in the pulpit; indeed, one may say that he was even more in his element during lectures of this kind. But it was precisely here that his topics and the way in which he dealt with them deviated considerably from the direction, which has influenced Jewish homiletics with vanguard in this century. I will mention only a few topics of this kind from his sermon collection: "Schilderung religiöser Zustände im heutigen Israel und was in dieser Beziehung ihm obliegt," "Über Mazzos," "Of our festivals and their subsequent inner transformation," "On Death and Mourning, < "On the Feast of the Consecration of the Temple and Exhortation to Faithfulness to the Dove," "The Book of Jonah," "The Torah," "The Waters of the Hader," "A Tisha Beav Sermon," "On the So-Called Thirteen Middos." The intention of Herzfeld to pray before Attem is already apparent from the choice of these topics, and the way they are treated corresponds to this choice.

I now come to the examples promised above; at one
 Herzfeld's observation about legal falsehoods seems to me to be
 the most characteristic.

"Mau claims that these are harmless. Yes, even necessary in a
 conversation. God, You have implanted in man the need for a
 heartfelt exchange of thoughts and feelings, You have made the
 human face a mirror of our inner being. You have imparted to him
 the ability to faithfully reflect every emotion of the heart, You
 have arranged our eyes so that they reflect every joy, every
 pain, every inclination and every aversion, and despite this
 it may be, man must do his best to reflect his feelings.
 moving features, extinguish the speaking dance of his eyes, and
 think thus and speak otherwise, feel hate and love
 show, harbor resentment and display what is wanted ? It
 We are assured that serious life does not always mean open truth, that
 anyone who pursues a purpose must be lost and have to go back. I deny
 this, however, as long as the purposes we pursue are worthy of man.
 ^H. see; for I have not yet seen that an honorable ^K;j|^t is more
 difficult to attain than on pond paths; the attainment of honorable
 goals may indeed be made possible by "versteicht", although in doing
 so "the profit for the Vertust goes," since walking on crooked paths
 is very laborious. But from
 ■he who still stands in wait where seriousness should not prevail,
 but cheerfulness, cheerfulness, and works himself up with speeches
 that do not come from the heart, making efforts where he finds
 exhilaration, is subject to this delusion.
 search furiously. My dears, how little do those understand what
 lawfulness is who even remotely admit that it requires untruths
 or understanding! Life has so many troublesome and unpalatable
 things, we have to endure them,
 because we are put to work in the betting; we often have to
 are almost hostile to each other, because so many of them are in
 love with the same time and stand in each other's way. Now
 the effort is over, the relaxed person craves freedom,
 He has done what he had to do long enough, now he would like to

r

I

and would like to shake open the armored heart before them and throw off the shackles of compulsion; but then a demon comes and opens his tongue among them and makes the exaltation an even more arduous business and the foresight whispers in our ears; be on your guard, had one with your kind-hearted word, there are ahgünatige near you, do not trust their speeches, they are meant differently, do not believe their friendly expressions, they are masks! And a threefold ore is again wrapped around our breast and our thawing heart freezes anew; we had sought amusement and wander away again thirsty and unrefreshed.

We must call things by their right names; if there is no "truth in your friend's conversation, then he is not your friend and then do not seek him out if you feel the need to go off in harmless merriment; A friendly conversation should not be a business, but it is, and a very tiring one, if we always have to distinguish truth from lies; he who is untrue kills the lawfulness, the genuine, the fragrant tree of our life. Truth is the first condition of our peaceful togetherness. Or do you think you are more pleasant when you flatter? Deceive yourself not, A grain of truth is worth more than a grain of beauty, if you are not aiming at the foolish. Then I ask again, should not man have so much stubbornness as to consider lying and dissimulation beneath his dignity? He who hides at least bears witness to himself that he must not dare to show his whole soul. Is it not far more beautiful and uplifting to say to yourself: I will be who I am, even with my weaknesses; the reasonable will love me, and I do not seek the recognition of the unreasonable. Isn't this deaf, yes, virtuous stubbornness more rewarding than having to keep yourself in a state of eternal darkness so that no ray of light enters your inner self?"

Herzfeld spoke to his listeners in this friendly and gracious manner. Did preachers talk like this about down from the pulpit, then things would truly be better for the att-

XXX vn

common morality among men. Let us now listen to the way in which Herzfeld dealt with Jewish matters in his sermon. For this purpose, I have selected his Tisha beav sermon, which he delivered in Braunschweig on June 25, 1844, a few weeks after the first Rabbinerversammlung. By including it in his collection even after twenty years, he did not "shy away from the widespread ridicule of the opponents of those meeting; there are things for which it is better to go to the The mocked, who had prayed and hoped, at to the hopeful

pervade his soul as he enters the pulpit on this day of mourning for Israel. He wants to remember the misfortune of his father and the memory of the events of the last few weeks is still fresh in his mind. "I must preach mourning and remember the last mate I stood here a few weeks ago,

In front of me was a festive, joyfully enthusiastic congregation, around me a crowd of sprightly, joyfully enthusiastic fellow fighters, in me the desire that a fervent wish of my life was beginning to be fulfilled and the resolution to speak with new strength, where to speak, and to act where to act miisae."

Gleichwoht, he does not dismiss the questions and pagings of the day of himself. Rather, he declares resolutely: "We can and must still celebrate this day, because in order to move on from many other unfortunate photographs of that ninth Ab, which today no(;b to remain silent for now and to emphasize only that which is most commonly thought of when the word "God" is used: have there been, for example, for a year or for these few weeks have the civic conditions of Israel changed? No, we answer with pain; we prayed in the previous years, that "the wall of partition may fall between us and the other souls of the Fatherland." And we are praying now that it will fall, and alas! there is no prospect of it falling in the future, this sad wall of partition. I am not talking here about the fragmented country to which we belong, although we too still have much to wish for; but we want to be so theitnahmstoa, as far as our lot, the lot of two hundred families, is a better one, not to mourn over it

i

!s the Jews uur very .few countries us tiierin gteichstetten, and scattered over the face of the earth almost nine centers of our brothers more or less still in hot print?

Do not the heart-rending cries of those countless frontier dwellers still ring out to us today, driven from their birthplaces as forcibly as an Asian ruler hardly ever did in a sealed-off territory?

Do you not hear the sound of this all the time, even from countries that are among the those days of bloodshed, devised by the demonic and danced by artifice in league with stupidity? Did it not happen only a few moons ago that reports of destroyed Jewish houses emerged from a high-ranking neighboring country, as if we had been transported back to the unrighteous centuries of the Middle Ages? Or are the Jews not still begging today for poor concessions, as they have done since time immemorial? And in vain, how evenly

be at before? To deceive our religion is deafening, to defend it unabashedly is forbidden, is that so, or is it not? You know it; and how many things I pass over! You

ise it. "C)

But there are also other Tischa-beaw sensations

Herzfeld eloquently expressed in this sermon, truly touching and poignant: "In those days I felt as if the beginning was being made to bury the old Israel; I was always convinced of the necessity that this had to be done somehow, for the sake of the Jewish religion, as for the sake of Israel itself, which can only find its right place rejuvenated in the midst of a transformed world, but I was not convinced of the necessity of a rejuvenation.

It is forgivable if, now that the time for this has apparently come, the serious business that calls us also awakens the corresponding serious reflections in me and others, especially if this wistful thought enters the mind: well, a new Israel will arise, but that atte

C) Will it not be forgotten that this writing was created in 1844 and was still literally true in 1894?

XXXIX

Israel also had his Liechtseite, which should have been missing from the new der- once!"

But he did not despair and jubilantly proclaimed to an attentive audience: "Our religion a beautiful garden, but which has been without gardener stands there . . . but it is early spring, the air announces it and a thousand waving buds betray its nearness . . .

God, You will one day raise Israel's honor from the dust and (ties will be raised! For in the time of mankind you have established the universal recognition of your name and that the words that the world will be transformed into a kingdom of God will become truth, and we are convinced that this will happen through his teaching to us: "For from Zion proceeds the Torah and God's word from Jerusalem! Just as that, after thousands of years of struggling, Zion, our Zion, will nevertheless be recognized as the mother city of Atter, who are God's, and will arise from its humiliation in response to the call of the one who is to the Thanks to the converted earth; the Lord will one day comfort Zion; so then, unwaveringly, you sons of this world! Amen."

Herzfeld's own position on the reforms

in Judaism is most evident in his sermons.

he is also not at all afraid of attacking the doctrines of deafness, which may still be valid. For him, only the historical basis is authoritative, indeed, some of his sermons are purely historical observations, such as the one on the origin of the Feste and others, he even presents the entire cycle of Fatraudian Atexander sagas in a sermon. Always and everywhere, however, whether he is preaching something generally human or purely Jewish, he is imbued with a sincere thirst for truth, with a heartfelt enthusiasm, and that is why his sermons, like Even if they deviated greatly from the usual way of preaching, they had a powerful effect on his congregation as well as on others, very often exerted on non-Jewish listeners as well and that is why The two masters of modern Jewish homiletics, Adotf Jettinek and M. Joet, also gave his sermons great recognition.

1

i

m

zottt. {Orient, 1845,]i. 44th Monatssebrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Jadeuthums, 1859, p, 195).

But his sea care activities were far from exhausted with the preftigt. Special care was devoted to At the same time, he devoted his heart to the educational system of his öemeiude, which he knew how to organize excellently. His Schutbuch published in 1861 : "Minehas Siccarön (Gift for the Memory) for the use of Jewish religious scholars - (Braunschweig 1861, 2. Auflage, Leipzig 1866) was an eloquent testimony to this. In the preface to this pamphlet, he could justifiably point out that he was no stranger to the subject of Jewish studies, for he had been in charge of the Jewish barge of his community since 1841 and had taught it several hours a week, and had also gained much valuable experience in the Jewish bureaus of the country under his supervision. His focus was The main focus is on the fact that, even under the conditions of our time, the Jewish bosom can be raised to a somewhat higher level and therefore should be. Only spare them ideological demands that cannot be fulfilled or will not be fulfilled after all; as is well known, "the better is better than the worse".

You seize that!" Thus, on the anniversary of his five-twenty years in office, he was able to say in response to a speech that the school and the education of young people had always held a special place in his heart. He was a friend of the youth, indulgent towards their demands of life, of interest in its pleasures. He was happy to treat everyone to a happy feud, however little of it he spent on himself. It was therefore a sensible thought on the part of the children of this fine man that they honored the memory of their father through a noble foundation for widows and orphans of Jewish teachers in the Duchy of Brunswick.

As on the pulpit and in the barge, so was Herzfeldt. He was also a lake caretaker in the families of his community. Almost fifty years of living together led to a true patriarchal relationship. He had shown the children the basic teachings of the religion, the youth dui'cii the Confinnation

XLI

He gave the consecration for life, blessed the covenant of life at Attar and comforted the departing ones in the hour of death. He always placed particular emphasis on the conscientious, painstaking fulfillment of the professional duties incumbent upon him, and he knew no difference between young and old, Rich and poor not only in his own, but in all Jewish communities in his country.

And just like in his community, Herzfeldt. He was also highly regarded by his peers for his scientific work and sincerely revered for his flawless character. He could call the best of his contemporaries friends. Zunz, Jost, Geiger, Jettinek, Stein, Hotdheim, Maier, Satomon, Manheimer, Gotd-schmidt, Frankfurter, M. Lazarus, who was also one of his oldest pupils, and others were deeply attached to him. With A. Bernstein, Sam. Meyer, M. Landsberg, H. S. Hirschfeldt, A. Together with him and A., he was a childhood friend, while of the Bertin residence, and later faithfully preserved. With Ludwig Phitippson, whose work he was always eager to From 1860 - 1873, after the death of J. M. Jost, he ran the "Institut zur Förderung der israetitischen Literatur," which also published some of his writings. The relationships were also the best among his contemporaries. His word was heard in public affairs, his works were generally recognized, his advice and decisions were often sought.

However, the sincerity, righteousness and integrity of his character also earned him the high respect of his non

He was widely acclaimed far beyond the circle of his congregation. Particularly interesting in this respect is the sermon he preached at the anniversary celebration of the 1000 anniversary of the town of Braun-
had been silent. In this eede we find the following characteristic passage: "And who would Freimuth in the tautest sense of the word in a city that is widely known for its is called Lessing's city beyond the borders of Germany? We, the Jews, would at the time call this last name with high reverence . . . we can be proud of the enviable

r

I

SLII

If we are surprised at the continuity that we enjoy here in comparison to countless cities and states, let us remember that this spiritual hero worked here? I will pass by his stand without paying tribute to his memory in the name of Judaism. to bless." And this characteristic gesture is not accompanied by a less significant tale of his life: -When Ritschet's masterpiece, the Lessing-Deukmat zn Brauu- schweig, was unveiled years ago, he was - unseen - the only intellectual who had appeared in regalia.C) Even this stone trait of Herzfets's speaks for his straight, unprejudiced mind, to whom attes Pietism was alien and attes Satbungsvotte hated. Such pure and unpretentious work for decades naturally had to attract the attention of the country's authorities. The recognition he had to earn from these authorities found visible expression in his appointment as professor in 1879,

Obgteich the modest and undemanding mind of Herzfetsd, which remained with him until the end of his life, would never have encouraged publication of the ministerial letter he received on this occasion, I cannot refrain from reprinting the document verbatim as proof that even in times of of anti-Semitism for meritorious Jewish scholars and for their work in the Jewish field. - The ministerial letter has the following words:

"His Highness, the Duke, my most gracious Lord,

He was moved by the merits of his literary activity in the field of theology and history to award him the title of "Professor".

By ridding myself of the pleasurable pledge, a the highest patent issued for this enieimnug here-

C) The speaker of the day, Professor Assmana, a historian of youth free, free spirit, was so moved by this embroidery, that he, in the presence of the entire festive assembly, gave the Jewish spirituality a deaf ear. hugged and kissed her with her eyes.

XLiir

I would like to use this opportunity to express my sincere wish that you may be granted the opportunity to continue to develop with strength and success, to devote yourself to your scientific studies in the same way as your office.

Brunswick, April 25, 1879.

Thus, spared by love and recognition, the evening would be This life would have been a peaceful and happy one, had it not been for the severe physical ailments that caused many a sad hour for the heart, but it was still fresh to his old age. In an angry In the obituary of Herzfetd I find the following sentence, which should not be missing in his biography: >Whoever has the atten stooped man in the last years of his life, accompanied by his wife (Georgine, née Satomon), who throughout her life showed the greatest devotion, demonstrated the most untiring perseverance, took an active interest in his scientific work, and who was a caregiver without limits, he could hardly have imagined how much spirit and knowledge had accumulated in his lowered head. and how warm his heart was for all that was high and beautiful.C On March 11, 1884, this noble heart had been forever

The mourning at his grave, the mourning not only of his community, but of the whole of Israet, found worthy expression in the two eulogies that the member of the board of the Brunswick community, Justizrath Dr. Magnus, and the successor, Dr. G. K., presented.

The following words were spoken by Rabbi Dr. Eütf, the photographer Herzf etd.

The head of the congregation said of Herzfetd: "He was a sea caretaker in the best sense of the word: he has

He opened up the children's understanding of the teachings of our faith and helped them to become good men and good Jews. And what he began with the children, he continued with the adults, both through teaching and fruitful encouragement in personal contact, but also through

I

his sermons . , . That was his work, which we will always remember with gratitude. This work will also be remembered for the future will not be lost, for the spirit he has given our The community will continue to do so. - With particular warmth, this speaker commemorated Herzfeld's sacrificial activity as the leader of the charity organization Ez Chajim, in which he showed himself to be "the prudent and benevolent friend of the needy".

and the Nachfolger Herzfeld's known from the place
ans, of whom the verbalized man had taught in eloquent words
what the congregation, what Israel, what mankind had lost. He
praised his spiritual strength and his courage, his piety and
integrity, his love of peace and his modesty. "He disdained
splendor and pomp, did not strive for honors, longed for the
the prospect of an appointment to the largest congregation
in our fatherland, far beyond the modest local
conditions were more comfortable, did not pursue titles that
became too much for him in the Atter after all, he did not hold
roaring, enthusiastic demonstrations, of which, however
would not have been necessary. A wise man from Atter has already noted that the fruit
trees, unlike the barren trees, made no noise as far as
they were laden with fruit and it
would not need to draw attention to themselves through the
rustling of the leaves - and the immortalized would be such a
glorious, richly blessed fruit tree in the garden of the Lord."

Ten years have passed since even the last note of these words
of mourning on Herzfeld has passed, since what was mortal about
him has been laid to eternal rest - and with
Today, we can survey this life for its great value and its rich
effects with complete impartiality.
He rightly praises the epitaph on the headstone set by his
congregation;

XLV

A man rich in knowledge and versed in scripture,
whose meaning always found its way to the heart,
From the earth up from this tomb; An
ornament of the aged,
The ornament of the wise,
Lives on in his memory like the scent of consecration.

And this memory will live on as long as the literature remains,
of which Herzfeld was one of the foremost benefactors. Before
we bid farewell to the dear man, let us take one more note
together what his life can have given us : He was a stubborn and
distinguished mind. He was a bold and profound researcher. He
had a dewy and pure mind, a faithful and noble heart. He was
great in all great things, and of him the words of the prophet
were true: "In righteousness and peace he walked before me, and
he kept back from error and sin. For the priest's lips shall
keep knowledge, and the teaching of truth shall be sought from
his mouth." Peace be
with his memory, honor his name, a faithful remembrance of his
work!

Bertin, May 1894.

Gustav Karpets.

Foreword by the author.

I was told that the Hebrew language, after its extinction,
could only be used to represent things of a religious nature.
For a similar reason, I felt somewhat embarrassed by the
presentation of a book, so far
only deals with one very competitive side of the ancient Israel.
But E. Etsar ben Asariah already said: "without Meht there is no
Torah-, and I was mainly moved to work on this subject by a
conviction which I gained from studies and which I had already
expressed in part in the preface to my 1863 and 1865

history, namely, that anyone who wishes to see will also be able to see from a quaternary and completely impartial history of the Jews: first of all, that the spirit of the hand that the Jews are accused of has been imposed on them by commanding historical events; then, how gi'undtos are almost without exception the insults that one can hear.

the manner in which it conducts its business; finally, that - apart from its religious and ethical mission and the other achievements of its spirit

- also precisely by practicing, defatting and praying

The fact is that the large and small transport companies have rendered great services to the sale of products, to the improvement of industry, to prosperity and comfort, and even to the cuttu- so many people. This can now be better recognized, when such a handet story atte times Israets mufets, down to the present day; I even concede that a completely impartial history of the Jews in the Middle Ages and in more recent and modern times would be even more instructive in this as m.

■ like m ii

XLVII

other relationship ats one of the oldest Jews. But a subject 1 of such enormous scope would have been beyond my powers, and j In addition, significant specialist knowledge would be required to describe the activities of the Jews in modern times. I have I therefore limited myself to editing his first theite, I atso to the Jewish Aetterthuni, in which I may rather dove for enough " to be at home; but I wish very much that another with truthfulness, without favor and without resentment, continue this fan story.

As far as I know, there has never been a handbook on the history of the Atten Jews, nor am I aware of any preparatory work on the subject, although it should be gratefully acknowledged, L "tass I some archaeotogical research and results of

■ The guests, most of whom are also named, have now I tienutzeu, theits bei-üeksichtigen können. However, I do not

remotely wish to derive any merit from this lack of predecessors, I emphasize it, in order to

I hope that you will be all the more lenient towards the weaknesses of this work: a soil that must first be reclaimed cannot immediately yield a good harvest. Even more, however, I wish through this

It is justifiable that discussions and even more frequently quotations were frequently included in the textual presentation, which would make reading the text somewhat more difficult. In the case of an etiology that is being edited for the first time, however, they should not be left out; the scholarly reader can claim with the greatest right to experience that the presentation of the text is based on at least some data and considerations.

st^tjang of individual things or the given conception of attgemeinerer ^afstheinungen, he is thereby also only in the state of

1 Replaced, to be checked and perhaps researched further. Atterdings

1 toöcht" I do not like to have written btoss for scholars, and

1 This was given the utmost consideration in the drafting, I

äö'Woh] in the expression, ats also in particular that only

■ E>⁰rterations, which were directly related to the trade, were included in the textual presentation, whereas H such as secondary ones, which seemed necessary, were included at the end of the book.

I

in notes, while also treating some more substantial passages of a cor- mercantile nature in contributions that come after the second section. This manuscript would otherwise have had to be written twice, for the scholars approximately as it is, and for other" readers with "different ideas and motivations!

I would like to share a few words about my way of quoting.

I have otherwise tried to limit their number as much as possible, and for this reason, when citing a sentence, I have almost never included the parts of the same sentence. Where several citations are given, either a statement that may still seem disputable to the reader should be supported more strongly, or the statement contains several moments, one of which is derived from this citation, the other from a second. And for the sake of brevity I quote the same work or the same treatise the second Mat btoss dui'ch ib. (ibidem), as well as some works of the Atterthum such as fotgt: des Josephus jüdischen Krieg durch bett. Jud. . . . , his Atterthümer btoss by ant. . . . Phito according to the two-volume edition by Mangey; Sifra according to the pagina of the Dessau edition of 5502, for

the unification of said work into Sidren, Parashas and Perakira is truly devastating; the Tosifta by Tos, the three Babot the Tosifta to Ketim by Zahten, e.g. by 2, 4 the 4th chapter the 2nd Baba; likewise when citing the Midrash Rabba the names of the books of Moses through Zahten, e.g. through Eabba 3, 8 the 8th chapter of Wajikra-Babba; finally the Midrash to the five Megittöt

I have quoted according to the continued pagination of his edition of Frankfurt a. d. Oder 5465. - The Hebrew and other Moravian words, which were to be quoted, I have, on account of the great difficulty of printing them, given in Latin letters: hopefully this will not impede the understanding of those in the know, and Hebrew types have only been used in two places where this was necessary.

I would just like to add my wish that this work, which has been going on for many years, will be received kindly.

Inhatt.

Page

Biographical introduction by Gustav Karpetes m

Preface by the author XLVI

Introduction, prehistoric i

Section One: The different phases of the Attjtid Handet from the immigration to Palestine to the time of the Ptolemaic rule over thatetbe.

First chapter: During the period from the said immigration to Saut 9

Second chapter: Upswing of the handset, especially under and through

King Sato 18

Third chapter: From the Death of Satomo to the Babytonian Exit . 37

Chapter Four: About Israelite trade in foreign countries, before the end

of the Babylonian Exit in 536 50 Fifth chapter: On the Handet of the

Palestinian Jews from the Exit until

about 100 year after Ate Alexander the Great 61

Second section: The Judean Handet from about 230 BC until well
into the Tatmudic period.

Sixth chapter: General information about thesetben, mainly on the basis of

of the changing historical processes of this period . . 67 Seventh

chapter: The products of nature and industry, which were then in
the Palestinian hand and partly also in the

Austand went 88

Eighth chapter: Several single items from the Palestinian handet

of that time 130

Ninth chapter: The current geography of Palestine.....141

Tenth chapter: Some further details concerning the Palestinian handet of

that time 153

(Including p. 159 et seq. : customs duties and other mrcantite levies;

P. 162 U.W. : the most important provisions of the att-

Jewish ttandetsrectites ;

P. 165 11. w. : Getdgeschäfte.)

Page

Contributions to the first two sections.

First contributions: on the Palestinian types of goods, weights and

measures from the earliest times to the third century 171

Second article: On the prices of the most important commodities in

this period, and some related news 185

stinian Jews, until about 100 AD. Chr.

Etftes Kapitet: What distribution the Jewish tribe had already found up to that time, and what had resulted from this in mercantile terms 199

Twelfth chapter: Of the Handet of the Babylonian, Phoenician, Syrian and Cyprian Jews 207

Thirteenth chapter: Of the Handet of the Egyptian, Cyrenean, Ethiopian and Arab Jews 228

Fourteenth chapter: Of the Handet of the Jews of Stone Asia .

246 Fifteenth chapter: On the hand of the European Jews at that time 259

Schtnss 271

Notes 279 to 344

Introduction.

§ 1.

tuitein an attempt is made here to deepen a history of the atten Jews and to continue this history into the Tatmudic period, I must ask Torweg to apologize for the fact that, for lack of a more accurate expression of

The terms >the atten JewsC and " attjüdisch ■

also need to be given for those times in which Israel had not yet shrunk into a Jewish nation. For the sake of clarity, I will now first give what is indicated in this regard for the period from Abraham to the end of the "desert period".

finds or finds it difficult to enter into my subject

only permits the time from the possession of Canaan onwards. In addition to the great difficulties which this presents, the fact that the Biblical writings which they present to us have been so strongly contested by recent criticism is also a great difficulty for this pre-period and for the period of Judges: they are said to be of a younger origin by many centuries, thus

of two-faced dubiousness, and Vietes in them is here for external, there for internal reasons downright unhistorical.

would, in my opinion, be unscientific, for, firstly, even before the date of those writings the acts have not yet been written; secondly, it is quite unquestionable and also recognized that early or at least many later records have passed over into the more recent writings; furthermore, it is indeed clear that with the much greater fidelity of memory of those primitive times so many of the statements can be orally passed away; and finally the well-known

r

Steadiness in attenuations such as the status quo of the country, at all times, but especially in the high Antiquity, justifies the assumption that a biblical narrator of at least only massive occurrences even then, if he were to take individual traits of his painting from his own time, he would not have missed the point. The historian's task, therefore, is rather to examine the individual statements he finds independently; and so, although I will criticize throughout, I will state that in historical matters one may only reject the unattainable outright, but in the case of statements that for some reason appear to be uncertain, one must briefly indicate this uncertainty and the reason for it.

We already find Abraham in Gen. 13, 2 very rich, not only in herds, but also in servants and goods in Palestine, where he had only been nomadizing for a short time, or in Egypt, the he had left again, he couldn't have been responsible for this, but he brought this wealth with him from Charan, vergt. ib. 12, 5, where it is also mentioned that he had already there produced slaves. had bought, of course, for Getd (17, 12). The needs of our nomadic patriarchs were very simple, but not to the extent that they would not have had many things to buy: they needed clothes, the fabrics of which they or their wives wove themselves, as well as a variety of goods; and, like the courtship of Elieser, a nose ring and two bracelets from God and other stone figurines from Sitber. and Getd, as well as children for Rebecca, the Patriarchs would not have bought jewelry for their families. It is unlikely that these items were in the possession of merchants based in Palestine, but were rather bought by itinerant merchants or in Philistia, in whose territory and neighborhood the patriarchs mostly resided; and those householders will have been Philistines, but perhaps also Phoenicians. Abraham did not have to add to the slaves he brought with him to Palestine.

Hausirer) said, also vergt. da5 etymon of rodiet.

Zweifet here uocti further acquired, he tiewass their so many, (iass he once could raise from them 318 armed men; and presumably he received them from the Phoenicians, who after Joüt 4, 6 and Jech. 27, 13 also drove human hands. The patriarchs were able to obtain the grain they needed for such a large household from the indigenous people who cultivated the land, on the one hand for grain and on the other for cattle and wool from their large herds.

(Gen. 26:12), and the fact that Jacob also continued this is to some extent vouched for by Joseph's dream of the sheaves. Ans of the latter story is known enough, by the way, that When a famine struck, his brothers and the Caucasians fetched the necessary grain for Getd from Egypt. At this point, however, Jacob asked his sons to bring some of the most prized products of Palestine as a gift to the Egyptian ruler, some batsam and grape honey, of spices nechoes and solder (the interpretation of which is uncertain), pistachios and mandetas; and since Jacob's sons were in possession of these things by birth, indeed three of them, batsam, nechos and solder, were part of the cargo of an Arab caravan, which according to Gen. 37, 25 from Gitead to Egypt: so they had to

They, too, must first be purchased. Abraham's purchase of an inheritance burial for 400 Sheket does not fall under the concept of a handet. Nor can we infer from Gen 49:13 that Jacob already gave the descendants of his son

Sebniun Seehandet promised or assigned: Jacob's song is of much more recent origin, however ancient, and this verse is of significant historical value for the end of the period of the Judges. C

Very little is also known about the centuries that Israel spent in Egypt. According to Ex 32, 2 there the Jewish women and sons as well as daughters wore gotdene earrings, also of a jewelry of the men happens ib. 33, 4 Mention. I will have to criticize the account of the tabernacle here, but it is unnecessary to doubt the message in it that for this, Nusen rings, earrings,
• Vergt. Note 1.

FingerriiiKe , hat necklaces made from ciotft kitchens iiiut copper mirrors {-espeniiet wunteu, and a part of these diuge may have belonged to the "Ge- rftttheu von Sitber und Gotd-, which were given to the departing sotten, but the rest were probably already spread in the jüdiacheu Votke before, and were thus obtained from Egyptian traders. Naturally, these lowered them

second reference source. As the majority of the growing Votkes resided in Goseu, the north-easternmost corner of Egypt, and also seem to have lived fairly free from the harsh bondage imposed on those who had traveled deeper into the Egyptian land, so it is possible that the former part of the votke may also have carried some goods from Phitistaea and from the stations of those caravan routes on which the Arabs, passing very close to Goseu, were leading to the Middle East. But this requires intermediate traders would have been necessary. And since they were almost entirely devoted to sheep farming here, they usually obtained the funds for their purchases from deliveries of sheep and wolves. When the people then spent so many years in the Sinaitic Hatb-inset, and while they then wandered in a wide arc to the east side of the Jordan, they naturally needed, despite the simplicity of their needs, many things that their army and the desert could not provide for them, namely grain and grains. The fact that they wanted to buy food from Edom according to Deut. 3, 6. 28 and later from the Emorites proves, if it were necessary, the insufficiency of manna; and that according to ib. 8, 4 during the whole forty years the ktei - jj der were not routed is of course a hyperbole \ Freitich now they also had flocks of sheep on these migrations ^ which deepened their wools, and these they now also knew how to weave: but in that hot climate they could not do without the softer garments of linen and cotton. be made. The enormous demand at that time for bedspreads was less of an incentive to buy or trade them in, as they were mostly made from animal skins and goatskin fabrics, and also from will have brought their note from Goseu; after all, abe]

and the later the more, niiiss this would have been a respectable Kanfsartiket. Even some unentt)honorale tools and ge- The votk would not have been able to make them well in the desert if they had been practiced at all. However, it could not have been difficult to obtain these and many other objects of immediate need from the tribes and from the villages near which they passed or camped. The situation is

quite different with regard to the vietertei and A

Mostly very precious things, which were brought to the tabernacle and used in it. One needs naint not undaubtlich to find that according to Ex. 38, 24 - 29 to the happiness about 29 "Tatent" Gotdes, about 100,5 Tatente

Kito) had been used; because according to this, on average only about 100 grams of gold, 200 grams of silver and 100 grams of copper, while we saw that they must have already been in possession of jewelry made of precious metals and of Getdmetatt in Egypt, as well as having had devices from gold and silver with them when they withdrew, and that the defeated tribe of Amatek also received devices from gold without any doubt, silver and copper. And some of the skills required for the construction of the tabernacle and all of its accessories could have been found in the

Egypt, which had reached a high stage of industry and art, acquired very few of the Hebrew vocabulary; the lack of it which later became apparent in this country can and must be attributed to a regression reimagined in Patastina. According to the Biblical account, various things would have been used for the tabernacle, which the emigrated people could only have obtained with great difficulty. For example, a small supply of linen could have been brought back from Egypt, but it would not have been possible to use it in addition to the curtains of the temple as well as the priestly vestments, which you must have woven yourself only now, would have required yarn or raw material from Byssua, and you would certainly not have made precautionary purchases of this before the exodus,

i

purple and carnivorous infartia, which could only be obtained from the Phoenicians. And the tachasht'eUe, presumably from a seal on the islands of the Red Sea, first had to be obtained from there. Then, apart from other spices that can no longer be determined with certainty, frankincense, myrrh, cassia, catmus and cinnamon cane were used; in addition, 13 types of precious stones were needed, even if only once, most of which would certainly have had to be purchased first, and the water would have had to be taken from the wine, olive oil and gathban that were continually used in the sacrifices. Now, it would not have been impossible to have bought most of the items at some of the stations.

of the caravan routes passing by the Sinaitic Hatbinset or from Phithistaea. But while the steps necessary for this would have been so narrative-worthy that the Bible account, so extraordinarily detailed in regard to the tabernacle, would have left them severely unmentioned, it is not completely silent about this, but rather tells us in Exodus 35:23-29 that even these foreign things were donated from what everyone found in his possession. Have

unhistorically, it is all the more probable, in view of the difficulties outlined above, that the narrative of of the tabernacle may be based in part on exaggerated depths, but for the most part it has been spun out with imagination. And as far as it is no longer possible to separate the historical from the non-historical, we must refrain from excluding this narrative for our present purpose.

Before we leave the Mosaic period, however, we must examine the very widespread assumption that Moses wanted to limit the gainful activity of his people almost exclusively to agriculture and animal husbandry, but that he had no thought at all of a commercial activity in this area or rather sought to counteract its awakening through his institutions. I can only support this I do not share this view, but for my dissenting one I do not recognize either the - : Mosaic regulations concerning the Handet, or b Mos. 33, 18. 19, according to which a'nch Moses told the tribe of Se-

butun Seehandei and vermuthticti aucti already promised rich profit from the gas preparation. For if the intentions of the hand are not made probable by other indications, then tassen those regulations refer to the kteinen Binnenhandet, whose inheritance he had to foresee; and the "tetzten Segen Moses" rightly writes the criticism gteichfatts a later Ab-

"version to. At least according to Numbers 34:5, 6 and Joshua 15:4, we cannot doubt that the entire sea coast from the "Bay of Egypt" onwards belonged to the land of Israel; at least this is also stated in Joshua 13:2, and according to ib. V. 6 and Rieht, 1, 31, even Sidon should still belong to it, of course with those Phoenician cities that are located in the south. However, we have already seen that even then there must have been a significant trade in Phistaea; and in note 2 it will be shown that even in Moses' time the trade of Sidon and other Phoenician cities was even more vigorous.

[must have been. Should Moses' comprehensive mind have overlooked or spurned the advantages that this harbor-rich coast offered? or rather should he have turned them to account? and Btütthe already have a coastline that has been used for this purpose, to sink back into the remoteness of fishing in the possession of his votke? and why not remove it?

he thought of educating his people to asceticism, and his statutes, if they had not later been greatly extended, would hardly have made the necessary trade journeys and the intercourse with foreigners required by the trade much more difficult.

'. I therefore assume that Moses, when he ordered his votke to conquer the entire coast up to Sidon, was thinking of an atmatic transfer of the tebatic handet developed there to the future israetite inhabitants of the same area, even though he

and on votksthümtichen ground days. See also
Note 3 But since Israet did not succeed in gaining possession of the
coast, it was naturally as foreign to the hand as it was to the
■mostly appears in the Bibet; however, he has been given a
strip of coastline or another route has opened up,
We will see it follow this path, albeit into the future.

r

m

Greek period with only massive inventions. Nor could it have
escaped Moses' notice that the ordered three-yearly mudflat
journeys of atter men to the place of the HeitigtbumE
were very suitable for evoking a kind of mass there; he must have
known this from Egypt, where similar religious gatherings had
called markets of great dimensions into being. It was not his
fault that for many centuries, these wadden journeys were not well
received; and when he finally succeeded in doing so, they
effectively made Jerusatem the focal point of the inner Handel for
the festive seasons. - The handets were presented in
The Mosaic books are as follows: according to Leviticus 19:35,
36, no one was to be allowed to be wrong in length, weight or
height; correct scales, correct weights, correct measures for
both dry and liquid goods were to be used. And
Since, of course, they did not sell on borrowing, the prohibition in
ib. 25, 36. 37, to take interest from the poor brother, Deut. 23, 20
but this was extended to Israelites in general. During the
seventh year, in which the crops had to remain under cultivation
and thus could not be well paid due to the failure of the
harvest, according to ib. 15 , 2, these were not to be collected
^ not completely, even if this was how this provision was later
understood. Zn sktaven sottten nach '6 Mos. 25,
44. 45 btos pagans may be purchased. For the extremely simple
conditions of those primitive times, these few pre-writings were
sufficient, and in g 14 we shall see how they were re-hashed and
multiplied in a more nier cantitically developed time; but it is
only in § 48 that we can show how these germs became active and
were developed into a code of the purest commercial morality
right up to the Tatmudic period. It should already be stated in
the introduction that, undeterred by the blasphemies
of the honored as well as the unhonored entourage, the impartial
researcher also in the handetsverkehr the Jews rather above ats below
the level
of the general Morat, but in the Judenthuni consistently the tauest

is required in every other area.

First section.

The different phases of the attjüdic handet
from the immigration to Palestine until the time of the Ptolemaic
rule over thatetbe.

First chapter.

Wätireuit ties period from the bcsiigtcn Kiiiwaiutcrung to Saut.

We will therefore begin the study with the patastina. When
researching the trade relations of a nation, we must not forget to
get to know the measure of its status at any given time; and we
will therefore first try to assess how Israel was positioned in
this respect during this first period. When it entered the ex-
Yordantand, it would have been poorer than it was when it left
Egypt.

for what it had to buy in cash during these forty years must have
deprived it of more edetmetatt than could have been returned to it
from the 'Aematekites and the booty given to the Midjanites
according to Numbers 31:22. However, his possession of herds does
not seem to have been reduced, as the regions he traveled through
must have permitted cattle breeding,
and the strong herds of the tribes of Turnip and Gad are expressly
remembered; moreover, 675000 sheep, 72000 children and 60000 Eset
were taken from those Midianites. By

i

10

The conquest of Canaan, however, undoubtedly brought the people
to an enduring state of well-being. For in most of the towns
and villages of that time, the population found there would be
population was exterminated, theita put into servitude, so that

not btoa fields and dwellings, but also other possessions, which must not have been insignificant, as can be seen from the following signs. The land was cultivated in Ftor, and among the spoils of Jericho, Sitber and Gotd are mentioned, as well as the fact that Achan made a precious Babylonian mantle from it, 200 Sheket Sitber and a stone Gotdstange weighing 50 Sheket, whereby the habyton. Mantet again shows that foreign luxury items were already being purchased here. And it is not foreseeable that there will not be a similar living space. would have to be assumed from the rest of the country, after all, according to 5 Mos. 6, 11 the Canaanite houses must have been "of the good", and Jos. 22, 8 tells us that the third tribe withdrew to the Jordan with many spoils of sitters, gods and kings.

Now the people settled in Palestine and spread out to the west of the Jordan attmäUg to the land- and some livestock farming, whereas in the pasture-rich country east of the Jordan River more of the latter. In the many places, Where Canaanites were found, a tribute was imposed on them (cf. Judg. 1, 28. 30. 33. 35). In the many times of subjugation that the people suffered during the time of the judges, this tribute ceased in the areas affected by it, and the Israelites living there had to pay an even more oppressive tribute and endure other pressures, as we are told in ib. 6,6, that Israel became completely impoverished. Attein (the other regions of the land usually remain free of this, and even in the ravaged areas this will have been compensated to some extent by the spoils that were taken from the defeated enemies {vvL 8, 21-26}); also, in this way, they were able to The new era was always characterized by long periods of freedom and tranquillity, in which the previous favourable relationship was restored.

Indeed, in the song of Deborah there is talk of horsemen on white women, of people sitting on carpets, of a precious bowl from which a shepherd's wife served cream to a shepherdess, and of colorfully decorated buildings which the enemy had hoped to capture: this implies wealth and even a certain luxury of the people. Some biblical statements that seem to speak for the opposite must only be correctly understood, as is attempted in note C, can be but not erase the traces that otherwise betray a known wealth, or even cancel out the evidence of any significant wealth. For example, a poor population would not have given Gideon, at his simplest request, the earrings taken from the Midjanites in the amount of 1700 Sheket Gotdes (approx. 20332 iMark) I left over to him. And just as Nabat had 3000 sheep and 1000 goats, others will also have them.

he judges Jair and Abdon and the three men who so generously supported David, who had fled across the Jordan, and his people appear to be very well-disposed.

S 3-

After this consideration, we want to investigate what can be reported about this early period with regard to the handset. and zH will be photographed. The necessary food was lowered the

r C ho sott nach ib 't 4 4bimetei,ti tur 7U Scheket (the '>Lheket Stber was

92 Pfennig) sich eine bchaar verwegener Männer hdben attein rented
l ermathticti sottte this btoa for the only there admonished ünthat the Btutgetd
leg After 17, 10 a Levite was fui treie Koat imd Kteidung and only
10 bcheket jabrtich the Han priest of Micah but the same Micah could
but he stole the scbeket from his mother, and she was ready to make a
>GoIteB- bitdi out of it, but she only called 300 shekets on it After 1 Bam
9, 8, &aut wanted to give the seer ' < shekets as a reward, but he called him
a common fortune teller And when after
ib 16, 20 later Jiachaj gave him his behn ats the king by bringing him an
eset with bread and a cup of wine and a goat's kid.
Dand recommended, or after 17, 18 the captain of his atonement ten
Eftse venerate tiess so both basically characterize doeb only the giver
ats an unmitigated one

L^

i

^b theti
^^1 tore

12

eifiene land, mostly each person's own soil. And the fact that many a craftsman's product was bought for money can hardly be counted as part of the trade, because now, and even a little later, there were certainly only very few branches of the trade that worked more than on a daily basis; the production of tools for sale in the store of the workers was not the main focus.

Nor can the luxury of the time have been anything like considerable, although it seems unquestionable that it gradually increased towards the royal period. However, there were already some needs that could only be satisfied by merchants in a timely and efficient manner. Thus we see from Arnos 8, 5. 6 that there were often grain merchants from whom the poor bought ivie riches, and that the land allotted to the poor did not always cover everyone's grain needs, which was quite natural. For many a strong family did not have to make do with its grain yield, and many an impoverished person had no land at all, which could occur for decades even under the Mosaic law of Jobet, and how much more so in those times when this law was not even

Therefore, every shortage in this land, both partial and general, contributed to the grain trade; however, the country beyond the Jordan, where, as already mentioned, far less agriculture than animal husbandry was practiced, must have been dependent on the grain surplus of the western provinces. This need for grain was, of course, already present earlier, and from 2 Sam. 4:6 we see that

that there were Jewish wheat merchants in David's time, who bought their supplies from men who owned large estates. Presumably there were also people who bought up wine and sold the lesser varieties to the owners.

of taverns or wine shops that sell better ones to wealthy wine lovers. Because the country's surplus of wine made it a widespread beverage, but with the commonality of agriculture, the landholdings of most families had to be too small to provide them with sufficient land for wine cultivation in addition to the necessary arable and meadow land; and it seems

13

The reason for this was that children whose land was particularly suitable for winegrowing, as well as villages of a better type of vineyard (we will get to know a considerable number of such villages in § 30), grew a lot of wine and sold most of it. Furthermore, the Sea of Tiberias and the 'Sea on the west coast were both exceptionally rich in fish, and it is from there that

woht

Even before the Israelite immigration, a large proportion of the fish caught must have gone into the inland, fresh and salted; this continued in the meantime, and although only a large proportion of the west coast came into Jewish possession, this included the stretch of Acco, whose abundance of fish was proverbial, and we will see in note 12 that the very tasty sardine species tris was caught there, from which enormous quantities went into the inland. The Jordan

was rich in fish, but not to the extent of supplying those living in the area. Kai z was also an indispensable necessity.

western shore; and just as the Arabs of today still carry on a lucrative trade over the whole of Syria, so the Jewish inhabitants of that ancient time

The buyers must have sold the necessary quantity to the settlers of every place in the country. The same must have been true for the fabrics used for the most attentive pieces of clothing, made of wool, cotton and linen, because according to Rieht. 16, 13 the Phoenician, many Jewish housewives also understood weaving and Prov. 31, 24 confirms this: but it is not conceivable that in the families of Votkes the art, the must and

The western provinces would have frequently received unprocessed wool from the sheep-rich provinces on the other side of the Jordan; and since these were again lacking in grain, an exchange of both products by traders had to take place. There could not have been a lack of other products and manufactures from the country that were already available from actual traders, even if they cannot be named. Not even more foreign objects

jj

14

but, especially in the luxury sector, there may have been goods that already found buyers in the permanent Patastina, even if perhaps only among the more affluent classes; it would not be dubious that the neighboring Phoenicians and Phitistaeans had not sought and found a market for their goods in a city that was not poor in every respect. It is not possible to say for certain what these goods were, as there is still no information about them for this period; however, it is probable that most of the costume fabrics and jewelry as well as the better pieces of clothing and metalware came from the trade, and this is particularly true of the incense consumed at the sacrifices, Kramer von Those little sewing barrels were peddling through the country, and it is hard to believe that they sold just as well to Jewish merchants, who moved around with these foreign goods, making a poor living.

But let's also investigate whether products from Patastina and wetche have already been sold in this state. had gone. Jechesketh 27, 17 reports that wheat, pannag, honey, oet and batsam were exported from Palestine to Tyre only at a much later date.

But this rather suggests that this export had already taken place many centuries earlier, since it is not at all clear why Patastina's extraction of these products, and the Phoenician side's subsequent trade in them, should have been so late. Let us read 1 Kings 5, 25, that Solomon, by a series of treaties, annually lowered 20,000 Kor wheat and 20 Kor "pushedC oetes" to the Tyrian king; 2 Chron. 2, 9 is said in favor

H

C If, according to Numbers 31:22, the Midianites of the Wtisteii period were already rät)i8chaften van Gotd, Silber, Kupfer, Eis0D, Ziun uqi! Btei gebabt tiaticn sotten, so d&r dürfen wir da." auch für die Juden der Richterkeit annebmeD: aber büchsteas besaasen diese nach 5 Mos. 8, H etwas Eisen und Kupfer im eigenen Land.

CC There it was attempted to show that in this verse the reading The center is not to be maintained and another cnipfohten.

15

20,000 Kor wheat, as well as Kor barley, wine and Oet per 20,000 Bat, and although it cannot be claimed that this statement by the chronicler is preferable to the former, it does guarantee that barley and wine were also grown in excess of domestic requirements, according to which we may assume that was also carried out by them. The surplus of barley may have been sold mainly to Arab cities, but the surplus of wine went to Phoenicia and Egypt. The former had some wine of its own, but this could be all the less sufficient because the Phoenicians also traded it, and according to Herod. 3, 6, in earthen vessels to Egypt, did not come to the Theit from Palestine. At various times, when, as we shall see, the Israëtic inhabitants of the west coast were engaged in a bit of shrewd sailing and trading, they may also have exported wine directly to Egypt, but only by sea, for it could not easily be transported there on pack animals. And if, according to Hos. 12, 2, the favor of the king of Egypt was sought by means of a shipment of wine, it is often, and early on, even more often sold by the The export of Batsam to this country, whose indigenous Gete were protected, would also have taken place. The export of Batsam to Egypt, however, we were already looking back to the time of Jacob moved up. It could well be that the heerden-

large cattle breeders on this side of Wotte went into the Austand, just think of the 3000 sheep of the Nabat, and that according to bett. Jud. 6, 9, 3 in the latest time amat 356,500 Passover lambs were reined, even though it was no longer possible to have a to have such extensive sheep farming as in the Itichter period. It is, of course, more certain that the oak wood from Bashan went to Phoenicia early on for the construction of houses and ships, just as the Tyrian oars were made from it according to Jech. ä7, 6. It is also likely to be mentioned in the next verse, that this is where the gas sand and purple shells went early. And so many things will have found their way abroad during this time.

§4.

The question now arises as to how this export may have taken place. First of all, it is hardly doubtful that itinerant Phoenicians and Phoenicians often bought these pottery products in small or large quantities from individual producers.

and exported. However, it is only in the nature of things that there must have been two types of these foreign buyers, namely those who were intent on buying and bringing home certain items, such as the modern product traders, and others of a lesser kind who traveled around to sell the most diverse goods of their homeland and also to buy or exchange items, from which they hoped to resell them profitably. The latter did not export the things they bought, but instead gave them to the former, as well as to Jewish merchants, who were in urgent need of them for some of the goods.

There was certainly one or more in every small town, and in the Kteinen, even on private individuals

■Have tried. But it can't be tange out thata

Inspired by this, some of the Jews also turned to this sale and resale in the country and, if it promised to be worth the effort and the low travel costs, set out for the export themselves, as well as to renonimated K-ara-

^^ vanenstationen, ats auch bis bis den Stapetptätzen der Meeresküste, ^^k vnn wo die Phönizier die Waaren abhotten. Yes, it even seems so, ^H that some Israëtites were already carrying them on ships, For according to Rieht. 5, 17 already at the time of Deborah, the tribe of Dan, which lived north of Phitistaea on the coast, sailed a little, presumably from the port of Joppa. Betangreicher But already in the last Bichter times, the shipping and generally the activity of the Sebutun tribe must have become as theirs in the blessing of Jacob and again in the blessing of Moses about the settlements concerned in both blessings, and about the fact that the latter are of more recent origin, but

kdocb must have been written before the empire was founded,

ti

Vi

ii

17

Karmet, with the inclusion of the Mcfiriiuseiii {;e- tegeueii Acco on a iirächtiseii, actually belonged to the tribe of Ascher, but later Sebutun, which bordered it to the southeast, must have spread over this coast. And once in possession of it, this tribe could have felt encouraged to go to sea by the example of the neighboring coastal tribes; no less could the hinterland, the plain of Jisreet extending into its territory, have invited it to do so, for through this plain it so often saw caravans from the east leading their - profitable- cargoes straight to its coast, and what of

After the Sebutun tribe left Pataestina for Phoenicia, it was taken to the most fertile part of the plain and continued through it to the sea. It is more probable, however, that the tribe of Sebutun had already been encouraged to take action here by the tribe of Sebutun, which had not yet reached its original borders, and that it was only this new, lucrative activity that drove it to take possession of the north-western coast in kind or by force.

The day of truth

According to this, the tribe of Sebutun seems to have been primarily involved in the transportation of those goods that were to pass through the plain of Jisreet to Phoenicia, in its territory and as far as the sea, in the same way as all the Arab tribes in their territory and possibly beyond were paid well. Later on, this may have indicated that Sebutun in particular was the one who lowered most of the men who traveled around Palestine producing

and carried them down the aforementioned trade route. However, he must have competed vigorously with the Phoenicians to exploit the advantages offered by the port of Acco by storing the goods that arrived there for shipment.

The items have been sold or exchanged immediately.

And Sebutun seems to have progressed to acquiring setber ships, however unsightly they may have been at first, and sending them to Phoenician, Phibcean and Egyptian ports, transporting goods there as well as from there

to be hoarded: it is not the expansive power of the awakened activity of the hands and the example of the Phiiuicians surrounding them that speak for this, but

audi in (tern erwätinteei Sphen Mosis the words: 'freiie dich, Se-biitiiii, iti (teiuu Auszügeu" (eutschiedeu not mititärischen, but mercantitischen), niid die Erwahmins von "Meeren (im Pturat), dereu Iteichthiim he will suck in". He also saw in it "the The "hidden treasures of the sand" are promised, namely the gas sand that lies on the banks of the river Betus, which flows into the sea at Acco, and on the dune-like sea shore from Acco to Tyrus; then, and a few centuries later, this sand went btos the Phtinian Gtas huts; traces of Gtas preparation by Jews can only be found in the Mishnah and Tatmud. However, we can see from this that Sebutun must have endeavored to exploit the advantages of this coast in every way, and therefore the paraphrast Jonatan was not wrong to describe that

"richness of the seas" refers to the catch of the aforementioned sardine species Tris and the snail that deepened the blue or violet purple (see also Megitta 6, a). This snail hanging from sea ectips was caught after Shabbat

26, a from the so-called ladders near Tyrns to Chaifa on the Karmet, atso found just on Sebutun's coast; however, the snail, which deepened the red purple and was caught in the sea durcti bait, was also native to the waters there. The catch of the heathy snail species went to Phoenicia, where the most famous purple dyeing factories were located. Jonatan was not absent there, that he did not also refer said biblical expression to the awakened Seehandet, for it is only this or predominantly this that can have been the subject of the Sebutun's journey, as testified by both blessings; and a sequel to this is This is also reflected in the fact that the tomb of Sebutun in Sidon was later shown, wrongly of course.

Second chapter.

Upswing of the Htiiiitt, especially under umi by King Satomo.^

§ 5.

At the still fairly low level described in §§ 3 and 4, the inner and active as well as the passive must

I

imtich

.ssive from Jj

IE)

The current itaudet of the jiidisctieii A''otketi were at least in the last times of the judges. That now, first of all, the government of the Saut, however troubled it was and however he was a citizen himself, but must nevertheless have brought about progress in this respect, are likely to have been the cause of DaviU's death.

The words prove this: "Daughters of Israel, weep for Saut, who clothed you in crimson and brought God's blessing on your garments". The greater state order and security that came under David could not have failed to give the hand of God more regularity and expansion. In addition, there was now a royal court with a natural excess of wealth and certainly some splendor, and the population of Jerusatem, which had been elevated to a residence, was now growing rapidly: Both of these factors naturally increased sales, attracted sellers to settle there, and also paved the way for the acquisition of a ceiling for the inner city, which is what everyone demands. Also wiid 2 ham.

14, 26 under David mentions a "weight of the kingC over whose Although only conjecture is possible, but already the btosse introduction of a sotchen by David presupposes a greater attention to the handet and an entered Betebung dessetben,C

Attein under his son Satoiwo, the Jewish handet received an undeniably greater upswing, initially because the aforementioned causes of its elevation under David were now greatly intensified. The order of the state became more and more secure, peace from abroad and at home became more and more secure.

During his entire long reign, nothing was ever seriously clouded, security returned, agriculture and animal husbandry were given every necessary care, it seemed that he also encouraged the people to acquire greater skills, and prosperity reached a high level, -from Dan to Beersheba, everyone sat under his vine and under his fig tree, people ate under his fig tree.

• The statement in 1 Chron. 22, U, that David in his .poverty. 1011,000 Kickitr Gotdea, a Mittiou Kickar Sitbers ii. s. w. collected for the future Temiietbaili, and the addendum 2<J, 2 - 8 are of course ungeschictitticU.

and drank and was fnihtichC (1 Kings 4:20 5:5). Furthermore, SatMP surrounded himself in all of his arrangements with an almost rampant splendor, to which his marital union with the daughter of a Pharaoneu, which he excelled at, and his other Hai'em,

Zaht", must have contributed quite a bit. Let us add to this nor the attraction that the residence of a great king had for many people in the country, and that after the vottendung of the magnificent temple many priests and Levites "from the country towns moved there, so it is ktar that Jerusatem now/t became a rich and dance-filled metropolis. One The handet was already inseparable from this and from the festivities that were only now really getting underway. Satomo, however, a king who had not yet been honored, was far from being judged as a biblical king. Personality accustoms the eye to its "competitive" meaning. He sought to elevate those of his people who were capable of doing so to a much higher level of manual dexterity with sharpness and boldness. He did not want to ask them to become tradesmen like the neighboring Phoenicians: He recognized the blessings of agriculture and promoted it; and the high spirituality that he possessed, the song and proverb poetry that he dove into and cultivated, even his great building skills, and the fact that despite deep peace he maintained 140() war chariots and 12000 horsemen - all this attests to a very different Phoenician spirit. But danini spurned he did not have the great advantages, which for him were and for his vote would also result from an activity for which Palestine was hardly less well suited than Phoenicia. We can pretty much follow Satomo's desfat ventures after atten betting directions, but it seems advisable to consider a few other points first, in the light of which they will appear more clearly.

We will find, in fact, that the Jewish handet in the atta-"si times of the Aeternity was to the highest degree different from the handi

The relationship of the post-Bartitii was dependent, and have to throw a titick at this in advance, Tyre had perhaps still not reached the peak of its betting hand, But it must have already enjoyed a very high level of support, as did its mother city, the "great Sidon", and to a lesser extent other Phoenician seaside cities, since the Phoenicians had already begun to found settlements on the near and far shores of the Mediterranean for trading purposes. In ch. 27, Jechesket gives a description of the Tyrian trade of his time, and this may also be more If the Oatomian and the Sidonian cities have encompassed a single article, expelled larger quantities of them, and drawn more countries into their circle than at the time of Oatomo and the Sidonian Yemen, then it seems reasonable to ask us at least an approximate idea of the earlier trade of those two cities from this distribution. You too

The planks were made of cypresses from the nearby mountain range of Senir, the masts of cedars from Lebanon, the oars of oaks from Bashan, the bitboard on the foreground from a noble species of Cyprus and richly decorated with ivory, the sails made of Egyptian byssus, the cords stretched over the canopy of blue and red purple. Later on, Tarshish (Tartessus in Spain) is said to have been made of Tyrian handmade sitber, iron, tin and lead; Jonien and the tribes of Tubat and Meshech at Pontus Sktaven and copper utensils; Togarma {presumably Armenia) horses and tolls; Dedan in northern Arabia ivory and ebony, also precious riding gear; Aramaea purple robes, knitted witnesses, byssus, precious stones and corattas; Pataestina (as we have already seen) Wheat, dates, grape honey, get and batsam; Damascus wine from Ateppo uuii very white wotte; two unknown, vernmthtich South Arabian tribes forged iron, cassia and spice cane; other Arabs, especially the Kedarians, sheep and other livestock; Sabaea and in south-eastern Arabia Raema edetea spice, edet stones and godd; Mesopotamian regions and Assyria Mantet of blue purple, colorful knitted fabrics and damask. The ' most efficient distribution of goods from the countries mentioned,

which they were immersed, shows us that many of them did not come from those countries, but from more distant lands; and, of course, like the indigenous ones, they were themselves used by the Tyrians in the nearer countries.

The natives bought them and brought them home. However, the Prophet has only listed the closer countries from which the Tyrians received goods, I mention Egypt among them; his list of the objects of their imports is even more inaccurate, and he does not mention their exports at all, which naturally also included the products of their very important art, as well as the countries to which they exported. But

If in his time the Tyrian handet was certainly even more comprehensive than it appears in Jechesket's depiction, we may assume with the utmost justification that even at the time of the Satomo, the Tyrian handet and the Phonician handet were highly significant. The handet of Phitistää and some harbor towns south of it, which were in the possession of the Arabs, must have been less important, but still very important. I will talk more appropriately in the third section about the very early IJtütthc of this in other countries in this region.

However, it is also important for my purpose to use the Kara -

I shall be somewhat careful in this work to familiarize myself with the roads that cut through Palestine or pass near it; in general, I shall deal somewhat carefully with the traffic routes, as these are of perhaps even greater mercantile importance in the Atterthum.

importance as the railroads are now. A sotctf ^^ road atso led from southwestern Arabia, the coast of the Red Sea and its Aetanite bosom, paratte the prc ""^ ducte of the piece of Arabia as well as Ethiopia and some hinterland of the latter to Seta, the postmatic Petra, about seventy kilometers south of the Dead Sea. Another Kars~C wan road brought products of Babytonia and India from Gerrha on the Persian Gulf across Arabia ebenfairiJ to Petra. From here, however, there are three other roads: eiiK^ ' to Egypt with branches on the right to the erwöhnts'

23

Arab port on the Middle Tennessee; a second to Gaza, with a very important continuation northwards; a third one along the eastern shores of the Dead Sea and the Jordan to Damascus.

Aitat in the innermost corner of the Gulf of Aitat had already become a staging post for the goods of the southern Mediterranean countries, and a short road connected it with Petra. The already mentioned road from Gaza northwards led through the lowlands of Judea and Samaria, and in the plain of Jisreet it joined another, which led from the east to Acco. Of the goods brought along these different routes, those bound for Phoenicia were shipped from those Arab ports, from Gaza and Acco, for the stone route from Tetzterem to Tyre and Sidon was very rocky and was only opened up for land transportation much later. The aforementioned busy caravan route from the east led from Babyton to the middle Kuphrat, then through the Arab-Syrian desert in which Patmyra stood, and after a short stretch on the east side of the upper Jordan, it crossed the river.

I''tuss and deep through the plain of Jezreuth to the sea. Just before it reached the Jordan, the road from Gitead, which we already saw used in Joseph's time, led into it; and that the road from Gaza also led into the plain of Jezreuth.

we have already seen it, but presumably it went gteich-fatts the railroad from Gaza, which according to Gen. 37, 25. 41, 57 led from Palestine to Egypt. Of the roads that had Jerusatem as their starting or end point, the following may be mentioned

I am not talking about them here yet, they did not become active until Jeru- satem was no longer such a young capital, and they are listed in § 13.

The caravan routes were of course initially used for a

other regions and countries; and from this it is evident that the inhabitants of the landscapes through which or in the vicinity of which they go deep, export their products just as smoothly and safely.

vermiithticti of Isa S, 23 mentioned "way by the sea",

I

coutites: in both uses, they were the arteries of transportation in modern times, but they also greatly promoted the development of the trade in the following way. The men of a caravan were hardly ever made up of eset and camel drivers, who worked on the place of their departure and delivered them at their final destination or at intermediate places to addresses given to them. But they were to be

They were sufficiently competent to set out with their own goods or those entrusted to them and to seek sales; and even more often the owners of the animals were only the mechanical agents of the transport, but accompanied by merchants who knew the trade, and by merchants from their home country to whom the goods belonged, and by agents sent along by them, and also by foreign merchants who used the caravan to transport their purchases home. The latter most likely

wanted to see their goods transported to their homeland, but even they could not object to finding a profitable outlet on the way there; and the others had no objections.

Although the caravans had indeed envisaged a final destination for their tour, they must have been very pleased to have buyers at intermediate stations, at first they must have been asked by the inhabitants of the area to pick out some of their goods; but they did this of their own accord, and every time a caravan arrived, the local inhabitants also came to shop, presumably the same thing happened when the caravans arrived in the area.

wane returned home with exchanged goods. And the phoenicians who, for example, carried goods to Arabia and Babytonia just as much as they got or kept others there, are also referred to as the "phoenicians".

the caravan route there it woht gteichfatts have made so -

However, it was not until much later that we find this idea developed, but its beginnings must date back to early times.

At less important intermediate stations, this might only lead to C-C lead to a formless market, but in important places and to - J

a kind of fair, especially when the trains arranged to meet there at certain times. What Palestine and its

26

If there was a Ijetritft in the neighborhood, it is only probable that such masses were held in Petra, üaxa, Acco and Tyre, C of Damascus and Tadmor. A Mei'cantite influence of this on the Israetites cannot be proven and measured by historical facts for a longer period of time, but it is necessary because of its inner necessity.

not to be doubted, and from his assumption a light would be shed on many an inconspicuous atte note, which would make him effectively known.

According to these side- bends, we will consider Satonio's mercantile interventions, measures and undertakings; let it be done in an itinerary that starts from the west coast, progresses to the northwest, northeast and south, and ends with the southwest.

From a king whose keen eye for the advantages of the trade we will be able to observe and perhaps even admire, it can be safely assumed that he will have favored the above-mentioned trade activities of the tribes of Sebutun and Dan, even if we are given biblical hints.

t'a-i'Ciber were missing, however. It is hardly conceivable that such an intetti- 8 "eiite prince could have lived in a relatively distant harbor of the Red Sea.

■''^^Tes, as Aitat was, had opened up a very dangerous hand-"^IsTiahn to his votke, whereas he would have withheld support from the handet atte, which had inherited something on the heiniathtic coast f>Gi-^tg.

~~~~ IFemer we have seen before, wetche ansehtiche

- "^ CC-t- -Urattieferungen he paid to the king of Tyre for his many-sided C^i E^taiid in his buildings through a series of years.

""-t-^^ri the Phoenicians were also able to purchase the same C^t-  
".iratia from Palestine, for their need for it, ^eim as on their  
Ftotten, could only be met by

C"-sufficient quantities were not enough; and each year,  
purchases increased even more until the delivery years were over.

C They are only mentioned atterdingB much later, atier itirc creation was  
. C0 "atürtich that we were allowed to have them for att.

J

r

^L Gladly'

Saiomo's friendship with the Tyrian king, as well as that of the  
populations on both sides in the wake of their many contacts in  
his buildings and in his subsequent shipping venture, must also  
have contributed to increasing the export of Palestinian products  
to Phoenicia and the import of Phoenician trade goods. On this  
side, Satonio had to leave the trade relations as he found them  
and let them continue to develop calmly. Towards the northeast,  
however, Satonio was more assertive. Already

Ewatd in his Geschichte de,s Votkes Israet 3, 343 et al. has  
explained the building of Tadnior and of magazine cities in Chamat  
from the viewpoint of handcrafts, but almost only divinatory: I hope  
to justify this view, based on note 5, sufficiently in the  
presentation given here. David had already extended his reign over  
Damascus, but Satonio, according to 1 Kings, is said to have been  
the king of Damascus.

5, 4 about atte the kteine kings to the Euphrates. Now it is  
ascribed to the latter ib. 9, 18 that he built Taniar or Tadnior  
(Patniyra); and to the n5raticheii message is added 2 Chron. 8, 4  
that he built magazine cities in the land of Chamat. But in the  
note mentioned it was shown that Tadnior also belongs to the  
territory of Chamat as well as to the Magazi cities in thesetben

far it was the most important of the settlements. It was about 260 Kitom. northeast of Damascus and a day's journey from the Euphrates in a well-watered and very fertile plain, but surrounded by large sandy deserts; the city of Chamat was located northwest of it and was a very important place. But we have already seen that a much frequented caravan route led from Babyton across the middle Euphrates to this oasis of Tadmor and from there via Damascus and the Jordan to Acco, then to Phitistaa and Egypt; its importance was increased by the fact that from Tadmor a side road ran deep through the Chamat landscape to northern Syria. This now and the news in 1 Kings 10, 15 that Satumo was taken prisoner by the caravans suggests to me that he first built Tadmor for the following reasons, or presumably only i'

27

Stanrt had been in charge. C The caravans found water and a market there to supplement their combined travel needs; therefore, if Tadinor had even one They could also, if it seemed necessary to them, take an armed vehicle with them on their next journey. Of course, they had to pay for this or pay certain fees; it is also not impossible that taxation of the goods being transported was already practiced at that time.CCC Theita met with these troops in The royal treasury, on the other hand, benefited the Jews who had settled there or had been invited there, and in addition, of course, the votke's business was thereby directed even more effectively to the profitable caravan trade. However, the offers made by Satomo "Magazine town" in the country of Chamat, might now be one of these cradle-says also belong to Tadmor or not, promoted Jewish activity even more directly. In fact, I can only find bazaars in these magazines, as according to 1 Kings 20, 34 not much later Benhadad offered King Ahab to set up markets in Damascus, as his father had done in Shomron. from Syria and Phoenicia to the east, presumably put out a respectable amount for sale, both for the towns themselves and their neighborhoods, and also for merchants who wished to shorten their Kiirawan voyage; given the arduous and not at all unsafe nature of these journeys, many certainly saw it as a good idea to be able to purchase their requirements while they were still on the road, and Nothing is more common in the Atterthum than such bazaars for betting. By establishing these bazaars and, of course, also providing them with a periodic supervision, Satomo will have had no doubt that he levied a tax for their use; but of course Jews also went there in order to

ti

d

C

Ptiu

3

arnb

d

Ir h r.

otctien AnfiLtteii.



g rectit good, vgt,

Fursteu of the Zett-

would have given.

j

28

ats Ageuteo as if on his own account; to do commerce in these market cities. Now, according to 1 Con. 11, 23 - 25, Da-maskus was later snatched from Satomo again, and his new ruler showed a persistent hostility towards him, which must have become somewhat disruptive for those undertakings. But

As far as Isa. 11, 11 speaks of Jews in Chamat, a considerable colony of Jewish merchants seems to have gathered there for a long time.

Another direction of Satomo's mercantile undertakings was to the south, where Saut had already defeated the Idumeans, but David, after another victory over them, had completely subjugated their country, as it seems; and that after his death an indigenous prince was able to regain control of it.

(1 Kiiu. 11, 14 - 22), seems to have changed little in this respect.

However, the Idumaeans had not far from Aitot or

Aitat, in the innermost corner of the eastern bosom of the Red Sea named after it, a harbor town Ezjongeber; and far

this area now belonged to Satomo, he had ships built there as well as with his own and Phoenician men, the latter of which he obtained from his friend King Chtram of Tyre; on these ships they sailed to Ofir, and there brought to Satomo a large quantity of goods, as well as

Sitber, very much Sandethotz, Edetsteine, Etfenbein, monkeys and peacocks (1 Kings 9, 26-28. 10, 11. 22). This news is already made clear to us by the addition that the Satomonian made this voyage with a fleet of Chiram. Either Satomo came up with this venture himself, and he lacked the people to organize ships for such a long voyage.

The fact that the Sebutun tribe lacked knowledge of the sea was due to the fact that the shipping attributed to them above was limited to short distances in known waters, so it must have been advisable for them to invite the Tyrians to join them, or the matter could have proceeded in the same way. The products of southern Arabia, presumably already Ethiopian and Indian, were

29

The Phoenicians had hitherto been paid by Arabian caravans, but this was distributed in the same way, both by the transportation costs and by a colorful variety of taxes at numerous intermediate stations, so that, for example, according to Ptinius 12, 32, in his time, 688 denarii were charged for each cameo on the voyage from Thomna in Yemen to the Mediterranean. The Tyrians must therefore have been anxious to enter into direct contact with those southern states; but every port of departure was inaccessible to them until Israel came into possession of Ailat. The few years since David had acquired it are still unused but when Satomo, who was a friend of their king, reigned, the former might have urged this Jewish king, who was in any case gifted with a great deal of sense for great trading ventures, to the idea and the resolution of a joint trip to Ofir. One or the other of these two approaches

It is almost inconceivable that the Tyrians, who are so jealous of their handet and hide the time of their handet journeys, would otherwise take part in one of them.

that we had already organized a boat trip to Ofir. We therefore have to think,

that the Tyrians also built ships in Ezjongehar for themselves, and that only after each Tyrian ship had been given a few seafarers did they set sail in common, on this voyage or many more voyages - for after

4 According to the Biblical report, it must have been repeated in intervals of three months each - some remarks are to be made, the detailed justification of which is attempted in note 6. There is no good reason to assume Ofir elsewhere than in southern Arabia, where it was transferred in Gen. 10, 29. That the products brought from there also included Indian and perhaps Ethiopian ones is sufficiently clear from the justified assumption that these were available on Arab markets, in that

The later, so tebhafte handet of Arabia with India and Ethiopia may have already existed at that time. It now appears that the Ofir travelers visited Arabia especially because of its extraordinary wealth of goods, and the most important news of the

Atten

about tertzteren are in note (i, III /usamniengeRtett; abp.r in them shows that iiaieutticti anch Sabäa had sotchen God-overriuBs, and anyway niüssi^n the Ofirfahrer also tertz-  
 genanutes country have visited, since woht only from them the queen of Saba could have had the news about Satonio, which she remembers 1 Kings 10, 6. 7. For the Knuittetnng, where un-  
 dangerous in the southern Tichean Ai'abien Ofir, this point contains a "good hint. Ptotemaeus counted Sabaea among the Arab internal states, and indeed among the more southerly ones: if Ofir  
 If they had been looking for the south-western coast, it would have been difficult for those who had traveled there to make a detour from there to Sabaea, as they would first have had to cross a significant and impassable mountain range that stretches from north to south at a considerable distance from the coast. The same day many more ears on the southern coast of Arabia, in the area where the Homerites later settled:

From there, Sabaa is closer and much more accessible. The Ofir sailors must therefore have crossed the Babtjmandeb strait and, after disembarking at the south-western tip of Arabia, traveled a considerable distance along the southern coast, for they only found the first port on this southern coast in the aforementioned land of the Homerites, where the ships must have drifted back with the largest part of their cargo, while others went ashore and engaged in bartering. As I said, from there they also visited Sabaea and its capital, of course for the same purpose, although perhaps not on every trip they made. And the Jewish men among itineu would often have thought it appropriate to tell of the fame and dances of Satomo; the news of this was also useful.

to the queen of the country, and she made her responsible for the adventurous visit she paid to this king. After this, the hutters returned to the sea and set off on their return journey, presumably stopping at an Ethiopian harbor for a short visit to this coast, in order to dock there as well. That this  
 The fact that the trips were only repeated after three years is very understandable. In note 6, V, you can see how extraordinarily difficult the

The sea voyages of the Atten were mostly, for example, in the time of Hieronymua, almost 1400 years later, it took a ship six months to cross the Arabian Sea.

buses along their entire length; for ordinary  
 the passage of this route must require a considerably longer time  
 and, of course, an even longer time.

in Satomo's time and on the coasts of still completely unknown waters and inhabitants. But until then, where we assume Ofir The journey was a third longer, and taking this into account, the outward journey and the return journey must have taken over a year. If one adds to this a number of months for the stay in Ofir and Saboea as well as for the land voyages required for this, and that after each return from an offshore voyage, the fitting out or disembarkation of the ships for each subsequent voyage, together with all the other necessary equipment, was necessary. Preparations for such a trip took six months, so very little or nothing was missing in three years for the succession of trips.

We have already mentioned above what products the people of Satomo brought home from these voyages, but let us take a closer look at them. From the first

In the first voyage they would have brought back 420 Kickar Gotd, according to 2 Chron. 8, 18 even 450 Kickar, that was 6426 resp. 6885 Kito; how rich in this the later voyages may have been cannot be guessed. The Ofir voyagers also brought back Sitber, but there will not have been much of it, for Arabia was not as rich in this metal as in Gotd; the indication 1 Con. 10, 27, that under Satomo the sitber "was available in such quantities as the stonesC, can be reduced to a reasonable amount from the proceeds of the products given to the Phoenicians, for example, and from Satomo's other income, which will be discussed later. Furthermore They bring with them precious stones, of which many and the most varied have been found in Arabia and Ethiopia. Then there is breath hotz, which in more recent times is rightly understood to mean the pleasantly fragrant red sand hotz. This was very

32

f^eschätzt, and in its native East India, as well as in other countries to which it was seduced, it was used to make stone idols, the foiirniriinfjen of fine utensils and the like; Satomo used it to shade a Getander in the tempet and in his patast, thegichen to musical instruments. According to note 5, I, the Ofir voyagers may also have brought back ebony, which is known to be pitch-black and, as far as it takes on a beautiful color, was processed into splendid utensils; it grows in India and Ethiopia, which comes from other countries. was preferred. From Etfenbein, wetches these two countries, they must even have brought home a significant supply, as Satomo had his famous ivory throne made from it. Finally, they would also have brought monkeys and

Both animals have names of Indian origin in the Biblical retation, and do not seem to have been indigenous to Arabia, but were brought from India to Arab markets as luxury items from many other trading species.

to be. On these the Ofir voyagers obtained the products of Indian origin, which we have in mind, while they were able to acquire the Ethiopian ones by this route, even if they also visited the Ethiopian coast. However, the list in 1 Kings 10, 22 of the things which

they would have brought with them, not at all: there, for example, the airaughtz and the edet stones are not listed, but that they were also among them, we learn from the accompanying note v. 11; and likewise it is hardly conceivable that they would not have brought the most famous product of Arabia, incense, even though According to the above, they visited the incense districts themselves or at least their immediate vicinity. We can therefore assume that they may have brought other valuable products with them. Incidentally, we do not have to imagine the Israëtic theitnetimers of the Ofir voyages as a trading company that was set up for its own account and for whose undertaking Satomo had given the impetus; for, as we see, quite a bit of what they brought home belonged to the king: from-

that the first brought back from the first ['ahrt in seiueu treasure from, the Saithots! tiess for the Teiupet and Patast, the Etfenbein for his throne; for the The purchase of the heingebrni^hteu gemstones was not yet rich enough, and the unspeakable effort of working on such a difficult i

The fact that monkeys and peacocks are carried on the journey

home would not have been accepted if this had not been for the King would have been intended. It seems rather that the whole enterprise was carried out at the expense and for the benefit of . Satomo, even if the men involved may have kept some precious things for themselves and received rich gifts on their return. and it was not much different on later voyages in Satorao's time.

However, one of the main points for these trips has not yet been not affected. In fact, it is not self-evident that the Otir- t'ahrer did not receive the treasures and other valuable things they brought with them from the natives as gifts, but only by means of exchange; and even if it cannot be ascertained which barter goods the Tyrians may have taken with them for this purpose, it is not clear that they did not receive them as gifts.

they had enough handetsartiket, the visited civitisirten like

in those southern states, for example, they were able to use their  
The first voyage, they already took some of the items that the  
Arabs who came into their area wanted to exchange; the experience  
they gained on the first voyage taught them this even more  
precisely for the later voyages. Without a doubt, these included,  
first and foremost, the same things which, according to Ptlu. 12,  
42 the Aethiopes were willing to exchange for their tame: gas  
goods, copper utensils, '

Defense pieces, braces, arm and hat bands; and after Diod.  
■3, 45 sotten utensils made of copper and iron in one part of -  
'Arabia were outweighed with godd. But it is more difficult to  
"irathen, wetchem Tauschwaaren den Leuten des Satomo mögen" mit- '

S "e have been issued, since none of the above-mentioned export labels  
^".tästina's were suitable for this purpose, not aeiü Batsam,  
>^ch wetchem those southern tribes were carrying heavy traps, i

I

iiiiit [nn:ti wiJiiife'Oi' whose (ietit'citté, Weiii, Oet and Diittetn, was sooh  
far aheadziisetzüü, tiass this the countries to be visited  
setber no Mauget hAtteu, ats also far their great Votumen  
made them unsuitable as cargo for such a tan^ cious and laborious  
voyage; but other products or manufactures, on the sale of which  
could have been reckoned with in those southern states, Patä-  
stina was deeper. We are therefore forced to assume that Satomo's  
people mostly took foreign barter goods with them to Ofir, such  
as those that were imported to the PhöDizieu and from Satomo's  
settlements in the northeast to Pataestina, which were only  
obtained for the voyages to Ofir. - To man his ships, he  
naturally chose such uteithans who had at least some "knowledge"  
of navigation; and he must also have been willing to use the  
trade

Sotchen, who had expressed some expertise in this: Both make it  
probable that men from the tribe of Sehntun were mainly used for the  
Ofir- fahreni, who, as we saw earlier, were at least already somewhat  
familiar with shipping and trade, indeed it is difficult  
to think that Satomo would have ■/." opted for this extraordinary  
undertaking if he had not had any such men.

would have been available. The difficulty for both the Isra-  
etite and Tyrian Ofir travelers to communicate linguistically  
with at least those tribes with whom they came into contact  
was not a great one, since they were almost exclusively Arabic-  
speaking tribes, and some knowledge of Arabic was necessary.  
may the drivers of the Uftr brought along from their tteimath, theits

they will have sought to get interpreters, as well as those of Satomo's people, who were buying horses in Egypt, needed and found interpreters there; and as in Egypt, they will also have found interpreters there.

would have served as a character in those southern Italian ports of trade. But where Sotche were not to be found, the exchange trade could still take place; for example, a Sotche without a language mediator still existed in Ethiopia at a much later date, and it is said that the Asumiteu had their

Anyetiote von Ochsen, Satz uiut Kim^n iteiii ihuim geneisiteii ("iotd-vorrathe negengegetegt und gewartet, ob mau damit zufrieden will be, but they are still waiting to hear about it. - Schtieas tich nocti a word about deu Besudi of the Queen of Sheba at ^atomo. How she must have been inspired to do so was s(;h(m given. She came to him with a very large gift, and honored him with 120 Kickar Ootdes (1H;)(> Kito) as well as many precious stones and valuable specimens.

I I'tmttich, as has already been indicated, Satomo nacti

Aejrjjjteu sent men with the order to buy horses on his account,

theits for his own use, since it was already indicated that large

numbers of ICriegeawagRn and riders ^^ vmterhiett, theits for

resale to the kings in the north

U'itI northeast of his empire. The Egyptian I'fords are still

characterized by the ebeumaass of the fenders, liveliness and "--"aft,

as well as by smooth and safe gait; and that also ^ICS.ter sotche,

nameuttich war horses, gladly obtained from Egypt, shows 5 Mos. 17,

16. Isa. 31, 1. 3. For a whole four-o^sjianu, perhaps including the

war chariot, Satomo had to pay "C-'^C shekets (562 marks), for a

single horse 15(1 shekets na.t>e^: such fixed prices, without regard

to the natfii-ijcii different valueti of each animal, set delivery

imgs-

CC^C^C>rde with an average price ahead. There is no doubt that the resale was also for Satomo's account, and since, as we have seen, he was very pleased with the profits from the ofir voyages, it cannot be assumed that his entire ttandetsunter- "C'C'!"

C C'fatirungen this was not state-economiscb , but under the da-  
°C^tifien circumstances but woht the best, intentional or un-  
a "si(;|mi^]the middle, attmätig also more private people to the handet  
■^Auführu. Incidentally, the fact that under Satomu C "C-(te were  
obtained from Egypt and resold to the kings of the Chittaeans and  
C "^i-"fter must, in all likelihood, have given us an idea in the  
withoutbin

3ß

Hetten Annaiitiie tiet^tärken. itass Mttioii daniiti between Patästina  
and the mentioned offices an exchange of other Waareu will have taken  
place, it is not understandable why  
between such neighboring countries the traffic htos on the purchase  
and movement of horses must have been restricted. The atte Egypt  
was also not fenced off to the extent that is usually assumed;  
even the fact that Satomo  
The fact that he sent buyers there shows this, and we will see it  
further in note 9. In any case, what was said above about the "sale  
of Palestinian Oeta to Aeg)T "ten is even more decidedly in favor of  
this and the following period, and the aspect of the  
The Dead Sea, which the Egyptians used to make mummies, also went  
there early on.

From what has been said, it is clear how much Satomo wants  
to pray for the handet with the state and nene ways.  
has sought to redeem him. From this, however, we may with certainty  
heit schtiessfu that he would also have promoted the  
Binnenhandet. This, as we have seen above, had to rise very much  
from the beginning under Satomo, and its effective presence under  
him is attested by 1 Kings 10, 15; but there is also no lack of



according to Ant. 8, 7, 4 the country roads leading to Jerusalem were paved with black stone, presumably with the hard basalt of Bashan: this is all the more plausible because high roads (meidttöt) are mentioned even before his time, and the paths leading to the temples were also paved by the ancient Egyptians. With regard to this part, it can hardly be claimed that Satomo did this directly for the benefit of the handet, but at any rate it made the same essential. Furthermore, according to 1 Kings 10, 15, he had a

took from the caravans and from the acquisition of the around. it was in his own interest to assist both types of traders. We have already seen above how he may have done this for the caravans passing through Tadmor, i.e. that Patft

C Vergt. Note 7.

37

setbst of several Haoitetsstrassen durctiscImittPii wiink. was not only to ensure the safety of the caravans and that they were not harassed in any other way by the natives, but also to build cisterns for them in the morning in waterless lines to the side of their roads from the earliest times, and in suitable spaces in between, so-called caravanserais, public buildings under special supervision, in which a series of completely tarred chambers and stalls were built around a large square courtyard with wells to provide overnight resting places for the travelers and their animals: For this the caravans had to pay a certain fee or make a gift

whereas everyone had to provide their own food. Mau has inherited such a caravan station in the "inn of Kimham near Bethtehenn" mentioned in Jer. 41, 17, and

It would have been located on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, whose Niercantite significance is discussed in g 13.

^^^ Third Kiipitet.

^^^^^^^^ From Tnite ijes Katomo to xiini tiibj'tnnischn Exit.

^^^^The impetus given by Satomo to increase the activity of his votkes weakened, but did not end with his death, from a personal advance, as

Nachfolgern reported nothing and felt nothing; whether it was

I could be an exception to this, that 80 years later King

I Josaphat "for the sake of God" again prepared an Ofir journey is

still doubtful, and in any case it did not come to fruition; at most,

however, it may be assumed from some indications that 120 years later

King Uzziah, a one-

"c/i tsvotter and very active prince of Jiida, whom Satomo tried

to emulate in the fields. At the time the flavor C" C5otcher

Krwerbshaktigkeit was after all now with Vieten

r

■wachtit, and vector sicti .scitdciiii not again, ziinud since the Dnrcti-  
toK foreign Haudetskarawaiicii and the example of the riiuiizier aa the  
Landesgreiize as well as innerb thesetben inspiring persisted. From  
Now and then, free-riots and catastrophes occurred, which  
temporarily interrupted the rise of the trade; but they could not be  
of a permanent nature, the cuttur and luxury of the votke were  
already gone in the maaase t,e'iihntten da's in ilaLhtott,endeu tuhi  
eien Zeiten der Verkehr wiederaufleben miisste und es mt^e \ei  
tattet sein, schon hier zu erwicht Ihnen dass kuiz mi dcnj tnde du  
kingship Tyriis

tiuen {^11 niiht Teiächtiiheu Handetsii\aten in Jerusatem erblickte.

With regard to the activity of the trade in this period, the  
gete;;enttichcu bihtischeu appendices are still very sparse, but  
already somewhat more frequent. And before I try to exploit them,  
the data on the possession of goods and on the luxury of this  
period just mentioned must first be sent, because the fact that the  
former is a kind of indicator of the trade has already been  
mentioned earlier, and ofteubar the kiutdiek in the ueiipity of a  
time provides the same iticnst.

S 11,

Although it is now probable that it was only after Satomo's death  
that the so many otir journeys ceased again, the mass of eithy  
metates drawn into the laud by him (the Öitber, too, must have  
been "in Jerusatem as skinned as the stones" at that time) had  
already descended to (ienerations before

it has already been mentioned that these treasures came for the most part into the attainable possession of this king, and he made a use of them which was of very little benefit to the Votke's wealth: the heed remembers his surplus of divine devices, that is, that he made 200 large and 300 stone sconces from God, as well as thrones from Efenbein and God "a throne, and how many similar appurtenances' ugeu may we not hereafter suppose him to have made? Satomo may continue in this as other kings had gone, but in the entire Atterthum and even in the Middle Ages the custom was almost universal,

39

the attainable possession of their PMetnietatt un|iroitiittiv to tawseii appliances of the most diverse kind, attainable for the sake of pomp, theists in the not entirely understandable dove, a

The Egyptian king Shishak carried off all the treasures of the temple and the royal house as well as all the treasures of the gods. Nonetheless, Satomo's undertakings and splendors must have been

have considerably increased the well-being of the votke, Winke This point is not mentioned again until 140 years later. For example, it is astonishing how, according to 2 Chronicles 25:6^10, King Aeziah, on the word of a prophet, swallowed a hundred deeds of Sitber. Also, the conquest of Petra by this

The king of Judah was given great treasures, which the king of Israel freely took back from him (2 KiJn 14:7, 14). A little later, in Hosea 2:10, the Lord says: "I gave Israet many seats and God" and 12, 9 Iftsst this prophet Ephraim (the kingdom of Israel) exclaims: >I have become rich. Isaiah 2:7 also says this about the Judahite king Uzziah:

"his land became full of Sitbers and Gods, there is no end to his treasures". However, the subsequent invasions by the Assyrians must have brought the prosperity of both kingdoms very much down again; it is not necessary to state that the king of Israet had to buy off Sitbers with 1000 deeds at the first of these invasions; it is worth noting that the king of Israet had to buy off Sitbers with 1000 deeds at the second invasion.

the addition that every inhabitant of the land had to contribute 50 shekhets (regardless of the difference!), according to which there were 60,000 inhabitants in the kingdom of Israel. Even more directly

We are interested here in the fact that the Handet must have brought a great deal of wealth into the country. Ptfrajim's aforementioned exclamation can hardly be related to this quarter in any other way than preferentially; and especially with regard to Uzziah, who brought the Haudet on the

KU overvnrthpüen; Efrajim exclaims; I have become rich', wot  
H&ndd as in cheating either Efrajim the Ptiünizierji gteichgeatetit or e

JJ

40

red sea was defeated, as it was said, 'his land became the seat  
of God'; also in the proclamation of Zephaniah 1:11  
-therefore the whole of Canaan has vanished, atte  
Sitherhetadeneii" can only be due to the fact that the  
Phoenicians would no longer be able to make rich purchases  
because of the bad turmoil he prophesied, thus indicating  
{-.r in v. 18 refers to existing ßeichthum. And the only thing  
great destructionu hesasseu, -we see from Ps. 49, 7.

The luxury of this royal period is reflected in the following details.  
Prov. 7, II). 17 the Tibetan woman says: I have covered my bed  
with carpets, with blankets of agpptic yarn, and sprinkled it  
with scents of myrrh, atoe and zinimt. The warning in Prov. 21.  
17 "he who drinks wine and ointment will not be rich" presupposes  
the use of precious satellites, despite the fact that nose-rings  
and other jewelry are mentioned in 25, 12, and the reference in  
the previous verse would be somewhat strange if  
"gotdene Aepfet in sitbernen Körbchen- niemats vorgekommen  
would be. According to 2H, 23, "Thong dishes with an overlay  
of ShtackensitberC would not have been in use; and in itt, 21. 22  
it is even said of the "bourgeois woman" that her whole house was  
clothed in crimson, she herself was clothed in byssus and purple!  
also, in Proverbs, the peninim are very often mentioned, which were  
understood to mean perts or coratas. Arnos 3, 12 speaks of those  
who were in Samaria in the sophaecke and on the damask  
of their camp. Isaiah adds in the previously mentioned verse:  
"His land became vott Kosse, and no  
The end is his chariot. In the ctassian set of 3, 18 - 24 about the  
luxury of women at that time, he lists: Anklets, net hoods, stone  
moons, earrings, bracelets, gates, head ornaments, crotches, ribbons,  
kiech bags, amulets, rings, nose rings, ceremonial dresses, coats,  
shawls, bags, mirrors, shirts, headbands, shoes, scents, belts, and  
the not yet sufficiently explained petigite. 5, S u. w. he calls out:  
Woe to those who line up house to house, fat to fat .... batd sotten  
die grossen nnd

Ketbst gar mocktwdsc KaQiian gtnuunt. has;  
further into the mouth jii-tpgU'Q words -  
"Ite n

and the vDD deui I  
an effort- ii

)|itieten him  
4. w. interpret

41

beautiful houses to be uninhabited! .... Woe to those who carouse from dawn till dusk, with harp and lyre, timpani and fife. Also in Song of Songs 3, 6, the scents of wools are mentioned ("who is she that cometh up smelling of myrrh and frankincense more than the root dust of the grocer?"); even more frequently in 4, 14 ("nard and satran, catamus and spices with the finest incense, myrrh and atoes with the finest spices"); also mentioned in 7, 2 "jewels of the artist's hand". Zephaniah 1, 8 speaks indiscriminately of the nobles in foreign garments, as does Jeremiah 10, 9, albeit only with reference to the idolatry that has been torn down, of Sitberhtech of Tarshish and God of Ufas and children of bright and red purple; Ktaget, 4, 5 also refers to children dressed in purple. Ezekiel 16, 10 et al. God said of Israel: "I clothed you in brightly colored cloth and put on your shoes of tahash fat, and adorned you with a waistband of byssus, and covered you with silk, and gave you every ornament, bracelet and hat necklace, nose rings and earrings, a splendidly beautiful circlet around your head, you were resplendent in goddess and sitber. It should also be mentioned that a particularly great use was made of the certainly very precious ivory.

Satomo used it extensively for his 'I'tiron, and also the mention of a tower of Etfen-

■in Hohentiede 7, 5 as well as the pathets from sotchem in Ps. 45, 9 I does not refer to royal ones, but Arno's 3, 15. 6, 4 also speaks of the great men's hats and bedsteads made of this material; C perhaps it may even be inferred from the Hohentiede 5, 14 that ivory work was still yarned with sapphires.

. On the one hand, it is now clear that the luxury of the time was not about

I btos will have included those objects mentioned to us, but ' and many others that were accidentally not mentioned. On the other hand, it is understandable that only the fewest people at the Votke could

to it completely , while ihueu the moderately middle class in this only emulated as far as they could, and potential and other national catami will continue to do so for some time to come

- Natiirti is meant, itasa this aUoR only to kteiiisteu Theitp a [ibein bcBtanit.

J

■^2

Otter seihst tiiiitmtt jiethan hatieu. If you look at the  
 iiiitgcttKiitteii Hibetstetten to üeiiüye, it is clear that jui Attge-  
 ineiiiieii was a very hedeutemier luxury iu both kteinen Reichs [ruled,  
 and that audi the Getd, him  
 the higher echelons of the electorate.

A sotcher luxury koniitp but without passive and active"  
 Handet Rchtechterdini;s not take place. Without jiassive not, deoi I  
 most of the luxury{^e(;eu.siande mentioned were securesio)  
 from abroad, otherwise there would have been a large industry in  
 Palestine for the production of the setben""  
 , but the atten nactmtbten must sihweifien, and the aiiitb from  
 iuneitu (riundfn is very unahisihdntich And without  
 I activ(n H indet nainentiKh without f^ew mm eichen Absatz der Laiides-  
 prudiwti bitte der tortnShrende <ietdahKuaH zui be/ahtung der  
 I uxus^rejenstftnde in iinht tangir time must have caused a poverty  
 to which {iteuhfatts nuhts in de", atten Ndchnihten hints Fs abei  
 also not lacking in more positive.  
 ] Beneisen datiii das-, in dieser Kuuigszeit heideitci Handet gai nichtL.  
 . unhedcuünd wai consider wii first again the passnen From  
 AeKjpten one obtains not btos the blankets of -aBjptischen:".   
 yarn" or the yarn for it, but according to earlier remarks - also  
 the horses and chariots mentioned, i.e. presumably the=

Kteider and Coptmnde from Byssiis, because the 1 Chron, 4, 21 he

The domestic byssus factory mentioned above certainly only  
 produced these goods. Most of the aromatic products mentioned -  
 namely myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon and the ingredients - are  
 obtained from Arabia and more distant countries:  
 , the precious sap and water, also Etfenhein, t'erten (ode^  
 I Koratten) and the Ziitiuss an Gotd, also the edet stones of  
 various kinds, which the Bibet commemorates for this period. Vc  
 I the extremely numerous luxury items mentioned  
 I. some may be sourced directly from Babytonieu, at^e

niinmetir not btos the ttaupträfier uttes Itamtets this WeJ--.

^j giving gt'wiiriti'Ti were, soidi'ni aiirti in viotprtci 7,woi!-en ei.iicner [Induatric distinguished themselves. Naturally, the atter-

I most of the kteiduDKsstck in Patästina are made, at)er from- ^

täudische wimten viirgezoeen , sobatd someone on better quatity  
^k of the materials and in a tasteful way, which is called the  
^^ft was certainly very much chagrined by the luxury criticized, and we found  
^H already, that Zefanja .f;prade fitier ktagte the search for permanent  
ktei- ^V fertilization. Similarly, the luxury items listed above did not  
have to be made from ("totd and Sitber atterd, however, attein most and  
most sought-after of these items were from Phoenicia. It is even more  
certain that some of the other scales listed above came from Phoenician  
workshops and were brought to Palestine by Phoenician destruction, e.g. the  
festive dresses of Karniesiu, of btauem ' ^^Kwd red puriMir, of iSilk, the  
damasks for bedspreads, the ^^■Biechäaschchen, the mirrors, the amutette,  
which served teti^tere still ^^Hstärker the Putzsucht ats the Abergtauben,  
danu the ttioh ^^K'S8, 17 indicated (Jtaswaareii and the "Sitticf bteche  
from Tar- ^^VfichischC. And so many other objects of ^^rXiUXU as well as of  
real need, which initially found no mention in Bibet, will have been  
brought or bought to Palestine.

^H Naturally, however, these inanuichfattig^iteu and to theit ^■eetir

precious objects of import iiezhtt, weshatb

■'trotit Joet 4, 4. 5 ktagt that the Tyrians, Sidonians and

Phitistaeans had taken soviet Sitber and ücdd from Israet. Of course,

the payment was not made, or only to a very limited extent, from

available funds, because otherwise, as

"(^Jioti said, a rapid impoverishment occurred, but first of all

'C'C^ fteni proceeds from products and manufactures of the country,

according to which ^'CC "ti the active Hanitet Pata.stina's in this

period must not have been un- '^ "it^iid, namely not in the already

p. 14 - 15 "-f^eführten export items, but also in other.

^^^tier ujid tiürtet zum Verkauf au fremde HAudter gefertigt, ^'C'i

"3 aus 1 Chron, 4, 21 eine intändische Byasusfabrik von bedeu- ^Cier

Atisdehnuug keuneu ternen; ferner wenn der Nachweis in

44

Note S is provided. tiass tue GiikIsrhniiettekiinst was there in some Ausütmug, and ohue evidence is to be conceded that the in the delicious oe!e so often mentioned in Bibet. As the delicious oils and waters, both native and imported, were for the most part prepared in the country itself, one cannot help suspecting that a modest industry would have developed in Palestine at that time in other articles as well, which were sold to the outside world, and the Phoenicians were

z. For example, people are prone to mistake the Palestinian byssiis for Egyptian byssiis, or to mistakenly mistake Palestinian byssiis for the real thing from Arabia.

§ 13.

Furthermore, however, considering that this export after all could only be a massive one, and thus obviously did not provide a sufficient equivalent for the much more extensive import, we must look for an even wider range of counting means.

However, I can discover no further evidence that Israet operated a profitable intermediate trade at the same time, buying goods from the caravans traveling to and through Palestine, as well as at nearby caravan markets and in neighboring countries, and selling them to some merchants who had come to Palestine in order to make a profit.

but he was able to catch them again on external hand sets. We were already forced to make provisions for the time of the Satomo to assume this to some extent, and the compensation he received for this As already mentioned, this import had to continue even after his death, as far as the Phoenician neighborhood, so suitable for emulation, kept him alive. In this respect too

we are not limited to btosse verinuttningen. Proverbs 7:19, 20 teases the boorish woman with the words: -man is not at home, he is on a journey into the distance, has taken the Getdbeutel with him, only at the new moon (or: at the festival) he comes

back - but according to the whole situation at that time, these words can only refer to a journey by hand. And

1 Con. 20, 34 I can only understand it to mean that the defeated



Benhartait item Kiinig Actiab tiiitjut, Kazavi! in Damascus anjuitegeu, as his father had theirs in Sauia: C a kaiitii conceivable offer of a prisoner in danger of death, if Achab's sub-

thanen had not yet cherished any sense of a foreign hand. Therefore, we find among those to whom, according to messianic promises, Israel's brothers would return, Hos. U, 11 the west, Isa. 11, 11 Cbamat 'Hnd Insetn of the

Sea, but where they could not have settled for trade purposes, and we saw above that this had already happened in Cbamat under Satoino. We must return to this point in more detail in the next chapter, which deals with the Jewish trade in foreign Palestinian lands.

I have already touched on it here, as it documents the sense of the Israetites at that time for manual labor all the more strongly, because we have not a few of them already find the handet in the state; then far the area of Chamat still tu sotcher near Patästina tag, that a business connection between his Jewish traders and their ancestors is not at all improbable; at the end of the day, the citations concerning the Schift'fahrt are a thatsEt,cbtich and to a certain extent geographical underground. Namely in The only thing I can think of in Isaiah 18:2 is that the Jews who came to him sailed to Egypt. And in Ps. 107, 23

We read: -Those who sail the sea in ships,.....see (before Attem) the wonders of Herru; a storm arises, . . and in their distress they call to Jehovah, who sustains him and leads them to the shore of their perdition, for which they praise him in the gathering of the people": this can only refer to Jews who made sea voyages for manual purposes.

Also, if sotche had not taken place at all, Jeremiah's seal woht 2, 10 might have said: "sail over to the coasts of Her Kittäer" (on Cyprus). Or had the atterdings only

The post-exitic author of the Book of Jonah wrote that this prophet had turned to Joppa in order to escape to Tarshish

C Aehntich, Emperor Henry VI promised the Piaans a road for their merchants in every city of the Sicilian empire to be conquered.

and here nn (iiSun it t,eheii(tps '~iüiitt bestiei^eii, if yenfatirteii  
'torthin S" were not bti deu tttereu Jews preconmieii?

And wohei auderis had L/eüiiet dit m his 27th Kaiiitet doeu-  
tuentirte 10 iimtassende Kenntnisse tes tyrischen Handet gehabt,  
ats aus tur^en teiinneruagen nie sit. niii Jemand besitzen kumite,  
der inmitten eines wenißstens theitweise dem Handet angew uchs  
anfw uchs -' Ja die W orte t/eüi 26 , 2 , dass ■Tyrus

When Jerusatem cried out: heisa, it is broken, dio gates of the fowers  
we turn to me, I will be filled, since it is destroyedU can hardly be  
understood otherwise than that the

Jerusatem's actions must even have aroused the jealousy of Tyre.

Ks ktingt this htos deshatb so disconcerting, as far as one - used  
to it, asked to completely deny the pre-exiticii Israet any  
significant activity, which, however, is without reason according  
to what has been said so far. Also for the restored

Israet iii'waits this t'ropbet according to 38, 12. 13 a very  
weighty handet, which does not agree well with a vüttigeii lack of  
it in the pre-exi- it time. However, there is another point to  
consider. The conventional assumption that in

The fact that the interior of this mountainous region had no traffic  
routes and that its two main cities, Jerusatem and Kamaria, could  
not have attained any mercantile importance due to their location,  
is the basis for the argument that there was no commercial activity  
of any kind in Patastina at that time or later. Now it cannot be  
denied that their mountainous location made transportation more  
arduous: but where and when

this would not have prevented any traffic, if only the  
conditions for it were otherwise in placeV here, however, the own  
consuni of both capitals and residence cities at least pushed  
towards a respectable passive trade. Moreover, it is even

It is not right that these two cities lack connecting roadsa  
with the Wtdthandet. We used to know the great Cai'awan road, which  
led from Damascus via Öcythoj potis unit through the plain of  
Jisreet to the sea island of Äcco: from ihi', however, two roads  
branched off southwards, one from Scytho|Jötis to Sichern, a  
somewhat more westerly one via

a small town, wetches siJitter Uiiiita tiess. iuit-Ii Siiiiiiriia iiiiiit Sichern,  
and from tetzterem, where both ziiRaiunieu met, a ätrasse led to  
Jerusatem. However, this might have been avoided in times of war  
between Judah and Israel, but these were only exceptional times, and  
even in such times Jerusatem stood with

Another road led from Jerusalem via Jericho to the east side of the Jordan, where it joined a caravan route that left the Damascus Road in the southeast of the Sea of Tiberias and went around the Dead Sea to Petra and Ailat. Jerusalem also had a second and even more direct connection with this seaside city; a much-visited road led from it south-westwards to Hebron, and there are still traces of its continuation to Aitai. A road led westwards from Jerusalem to Gaza via a village that was later called Bet-gubrin and Eteu-theroiiotis, from where one could travel via Khino-

Kotura to Egypt. At the end, a mountain road from Jerusalem to the port of Joppa also ran deep in a north-westerly direction, but was first intersected at Lod (Lydda) by the much more important road that leads from Gaza through the Judean and Kaniaritan lowlands, then runs under the eastern slopes of the Karmel and flows into the plain of Yisreel.

It is true that we owe the existence of these roads to much more recent information, and that therefore the existence of these roads in the royal period cannot be positively proven; but it is very probable that, as far as one goes in matters of the stable Orient, the past as well as the present, setzen feht, iudeni mau ascribes a higher age to the existing, ats

even if this assumption harmonizes so well with the proven traces of a present-day trade. It should also be added that Jerusalem had an upper and a lower market at the time of Jeremiah and certainly even earlier, which may also have served trade; whether different from them

the locality which Jer. iJ7, 16 calls "the booths" must have been left out; another locality there, called Machtäsch (det-Mörser), seems to have been uucti Zef. 1, II i-m bazaar for export goods.

§ 14,

Uetier jMisctieii Seehandet iu dieser Perioite tässt sicti, aus Bibetstetteii wie vermögen berechtigter Schtüsse aus ihnen, Siiecietteres augeben. The fact that a sotcher with Phoenicia took place can, according to

It is difficult to dispute the above and the following; however, it seems to me equally indisputable that mau was in trade with Egypt, and although the land route may have been used for this, the sea route was just as important. Furthermore We first note on p. 45 that as early as the eighth century B.C. there was talk of brethren of the Jewish people "in the west", "on islands (or coasts) of the sea"; and even if it is not clear which coasts of the west are to be referred to here, it is not clear which ones.

I cannot think of two things: that these settlements were invented for trade purposes, and that before they were invented, a Jewish sea trade must have already taken place there. About the ship on the Arabian Gulf

■ does not say whether the Ofir journeys were continued immediately after Satomo, but reports that 1 Kings 22, 49. 50 that about eighty years after him Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, had a fleet had been equipped to sail out of Ofir to the Indies, but it had already been wrecked by a storm before it departed; and that thereupon the king of Israel had asked him to leave people of both kings to go there together but that Jehoshaphat had refused to do so. C It now seems to me that after Satomo's death, only Jehoshaphat had in fact prepared another ofir voyage, not because the sinu for housekeeping had been extinguished again with Satomo's death, but for the following reason. We saw earlier that Ailat and the neighboring coast were separated from Palestine by the Edomite country, and that hence the possession of the former, or at least without the friendliest relations with its ruler ""

- The above representation of Chron 20, 36. 37 is wholly ungeschichtlich and the above pietistic grand of anti-Semitism from the state itself to the era.

49

the equipment of the fleet to Ailat should not be "e'tin'tit iC'nmt. But according to 1 Kön. 11, 14. 25, Edom's relationship with him had already become hostile during Sathai's later years, and <:Xann Edom is not mentioned again until the reign of Jehoshaphat, but even so f".h in enmity with Judah and defeated by Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. ^^^, 10. 22). Let us now assume that during the entire period between

Ks "JÄenzeit their relationship" to each other was no better, and that, as it seems according to 1 Kön. 22, 48, Jehoshaphat had appointed a governor to the place of the Edomite king, so he explains: "simply, why he now again equipped an Ofirfahrt ■"vitiÄTde; and the fact that after eight years of entry (ti^er journeys immediately after Edom's re-establishment an often iK- fleet was equipped, shows to what extent the sense -tCC-^":~"iif was directed. However, already under his son Jorani ^Ct Edom abated, but was replaced about fifty years later by ^C^C^C fftzja defeated and subjugated anew; thereupon his ^CC^~- n Usija also took Ailat again around 808 and had it expanded, ^'^■ "nuttich for a Jewish colony sent to him for his assertion as if for the purposes of dog ice tt^V:". to. But around 740, the Arab-^C^C--^r King Reziu took Ailat away, and even expelled the people living there. C^ CC ^X "n from this {2 Kön. 16, 6): the fact that a Syrian king seized the distant city of Ailat testifies to the y^ C <:ichtigkeit of this seaside city at that time, and the expulsion of the Jews from ' C "C-^ it seems that he gave the land there his

^ C "C i'igkeit von .Inda abüttett, nach 2 Chron. 28, 17 ^C-C^tite there was even an enemy invasion of thatetbe shortly afterwards, . ^CC^t probably stayed that way until the exit. After this now was C^rhath this entire period only twice, from about 900 CC^ 887 and again from about 837 to 740, the connection with CCi the Red Sea is open to the Judahites uninhibited, and then appears to be C CCi Seehandet to have been used again, especially ats there was a Jewish cotonie in ^C0t. Presumably, however '^ now more and more settener to visit btos Ofir, but gteich their ^^^ C^CC-^iiizische Vorbitdern visited the Jews now also woht to- ^^L ^fe^en the rest of the south coast of Arabia to the area of the ^^B "rteufischereien, and even more often also the Egyptian and tthiopianc

r

60

Coast. Yes, just as the Tyrians iturdi nictitiinterworfeue Läuitei itirc Handetfiwege faiiiteii, the Jiuteu attinätig will also have dared to visit the Aetanite coast even when itie Edomiteu were not tuetir from them.

The letters from this period, which are directed against the thirst for God, as well as those recommending honesty in trade, are not mentioned after the above remarks. h better step into the light. Prov. 23, 4. 5 we read: Mfitie thee nic'tti.'i ah to become rich, even out of prudence tass from it; thy Au^^ skims over it, and he (the richhuin) is no more, he niaci "Ä'C-t himself Ftüget and ftieth away like an adter. 28, 22: The wicked man is eager for a,"": "f fortune and does not know that Manget will prepare it:^^- ti. 11, 1: Fatness is an abomination to the Eternal. in vottem Gewicht hat er Wohtgefatten , und noch vieiinat wt ::mc- d in den Proverbs (16, 11. 20, 10. 23. 28, 20) zurück auf;^ -^ kommen. Speciett the fraud in the grain handet was arnos 8, 5

and Micah 6, 10, the Koruwncher Sjir. 11, 26 scourged. ContribuTion It should also be mentioned that during the time of the Arno's stette, this deceptive grain hand was often hypocritically set on the new moon and Sabbath. -C" was stett. - About Getd, Maasa nud weight of the Hebrews, t' -^e=>n the oldest time until znin Exit, is in the first Beitage N". Köthige to find.

Viertea Kapitet.

iiraetitisutie natiddstbriti^kcit in naav/ä  
Eudc des !iat)ytonisrlieQ Exits

§ ir,.

.rtigt countries, mainly

Around 740, the Assyrian king Tiglatpit0sser had the Bewotu "  
of the eastern Gatitää uiut itie tribes beyond the Jordan

1 overcrsKUCn; who erpicitt on Vermiigeii

ki^^^^ "1

C Vietteicht ii  
Bichtigea Ange. ^ j

CC What is said in §§ 15 nnit 16 ntier die assjrisctien und babytonischen Exutan

^^J in andere ats der rein commercieiten Bezietsmng, beruhet auf A. - - ^^ ßbrungen

und Erörterungen im ersten Bande meiner Geai^hichte des Viit'-t^^^^ i  
i Jisraet, p. 38 u, w. and p. ,^5G- B78 concerning the aasyriacht  
P. 4Ü1- iö4 hetreffa der bahytoniacäien.

isyria; itas^etbe fate had twenty years spftter, the inhabitants of  
the rest of the ketch of Israet , and the One camea  
I went to Etam, the others to Shinar. Etam was actually the  
Intand north of Siisiana, but the Hebrews added the latter to it. It was  
of a very warlike  
iV^tke, to which the arrivals could not get away, and we therefore  
find most of the exniantei displaced there somewhat further north,  
in the very mountainous district southwest of Ekbatana; but there  
are also some  
They bought back in Etam, namely in the Ethymian province of  
^erub or Korbieue, and others dispersed over the banks of the  
lower Tigris. Those who were deported to Shinar were given homes  
in the regions of Khatakh, Khabor and Gui^an.

east of it, but both landscapes were inhabited by the gteichfatts Biegerische Votke of the Karducheu, and it seems that

' These also forced the Exutanteu, or at least a part of them, to move southwards into the angle formed by the upper Tigris and the great Zab flowing towards it.

Gosan is located between the Zagroa Mountains and the Fejjt Sea. From their origins, the a.s.sjrian exutants were dependent on agriculture, animal husbandry, some industry iinti on the Handet, on tetzter sugar, as above

"acti}: "e has been demonstrated to a considerably greater extent than was previously ^Qg'eii assumed. Now it is to be assumed that a part

"ersetben will also have turned to the laudhau ^ "f^eau in these new areas, but to a predominant degree this may "idit have happened, for some of the sites of the regions mentioned were not quite a-"a-ufaiiig because of their very mountainous nature, and where the tioden was this, it must have been taken by the Einge-  
"(-renea in Beschtag; The exutanteu were more likely to have been largely devoted to the other branches of the economy mentioned, and thus a part of them to the trade. As to what this may have been like, some '^rniuths will be given p. 54; here I will only try to gain some ^^atte for it. In these distant regions  
C^ uämtith the trade traffic thus disproportionately teb-

n

4

r

^H sc

^H au

more than later and even more than now, for Media had a very handsome capital, Assyria even a cotossate and un- my tuxurious one, also in the latter some landscapes were very cuttivirt and heavily populated, and wii' will still see that several caravan routes not far from the seats

of these exiles, while those who had gone down to the lower Tigris were certainly entering a focal point of the competition. For men, however, whose livelihood

and who had already become sufficiently familiar with the fertility of the land from their Palestinian homeland, this was naturally a strong incentive to turn to it in their new homes, where and as far as possible, and to visit more distant places for this purpose. Initially, the latter may have been attempted by a few individuals, but it seems that their example was widely imitated and that "favorable news of the success also" provided the impetus for a new and greener migration. The Book of Tobit, written (1, 13, 14 and 3, 7) already for the eighth century B.C. of Jews in Nineveh, Ekbatana and the still significantly eastern Median city of Kagä and Tobit as the supplier of the Assyrian king, is not a quatrain worthy of deafness; but the early spread of these exultants reported by him is deaf in itself, especially since, according to Isa. 49:12, they had already been around for some time before the Assyrian king. the baby-sonic exit a ketter break Israels to the "Land of the Sines", by which some would understand China, others Cochinchina, still others Tsian (Siam); But the prophet only knew that a part of the (Assyrian) exiles had dispersed far to the east, and called the land of the Sines presumably bto deshatb, as far as the unknown farthest east could be described as such. Later we will see that already at the time of the Babylonian exile there is also talk of Israelites on the southern shores of the Black Sea, but it cannot be discerned, whether these had originated from the Assyrian or the Babylonian exultants.

#### § 10.

Now we follow the writer into the Babylonian exile, the more detailed in the Book of Jeremiah 6(1), ("02 and 51)8, the umfänglichste 587, and a narrative of the exile of 582. One of these exultants was transferred to northwestern Mesopotamia, another to the middle Euphrates, a third presumably to the upper Tigris, not far from the seats of the Assyrian exultants, a fourth to eastern South Kiana; the latter seems to have been allowed to take up residence in the capital and countryside of Babylon. Those of them who took up residence on the upper Tigris and in eastern Susiana were in quite the same position as the Assyrian exiles as far as their livelihood was concerned, and A large proportion of them will therefore have turned to trade and some of them will have moved to other regions for trade purposes. However, the situation of those who found residences in the upper and middle Euphrat and in the city and countryside of Babylon was very different. different ones. These regions enjoyed the most fertile soil and the most careful cultivation of the same, and were in photographic They were also the seats of a high culture,



Branches, and of the most expensive internal as well as external trade, about which one will forget ch. 12, where it will be dealt with in detail. The Jewish population that was thrown into the area was therefore only able to farm sparingly in the early days; likewise, although there were certainly rivals who tried hard to learn their industrial skills from the natives, their successes in this could only be very slow, precisely because of the high level that the natives occupied in this respect. Under these circumstances, however, a large and perhaps very large proportion of the Babylonian exiles will have been forced to engage in manual labor of various kinds and even servitude. But no other livelihood was as close to their hearts as manual labor, for from attending activities to which they could turn here, this was the

r  
I

54

The most obvious and presumably the most accessible to them; and it was not only the example of the Babylonians that needed to be taken into account, according to the above explanations they must have brought a frequent sense of it with them from Judea. The attending infotage  
veniiuthe I, that of the Babylonian exiles a great-  
r brute force of the Assyrians turned to the hand, where the manner of its operation must have been very similar to both. The fact that they settled down in the modern sense of the term did not happen in the first place, but it seems rather that those who took up the trade moved around for the most part, both near and far, some in order to find easily transportable goods. goods, which they have previously entered for this purpose. Others bought products of the most diverse kinds in small quantities and then supplied the resulting products from the tour or several excursions to buyers of a higher kind. Others, on the other hand, might go to markets with purchased or self-produced goods, while others might also visit canoe stations, where, as mentioned, a kind of trade fair took place, and buy there what they hoped to buy elsewhere or at home with preference. And some of the wealthy were not afraid to join caravans with considerable stocks of goods that they had bought at home or even in free countries, in order to buy them at distant and faraway places. often to seek sales in very distant trading locations and to exchange return freight there. They found the distant places or regions to which they were sent in this way.

settled down and followed their families; and their success induced other tribes to follow them there. With the exception of the last point, which will later prove to be a fact, there is no evidence for these sentences, but they do result from the circumstances surrounding them. -\ Moreover, this is btos a question of time, Isra' has in fact been predominantly a handetsvotk in the diaspora, and in every country of his residence he was allowed to the nature and manner of this activity naturally according to deff

55

existing ones. Why should we not assume that it went in this direction when its situation encouraged or even urged it to do so, which, as shown, was already the case in the Assyrian and even more so in the Habytonian Exit, and that this then happened in the forms that the Exit countries and times provided? A few more words about the activities of the Babylonian Jews during the Exit period will be given below, and what can be ascertained of them in this regard from the post-Exit periods up to the Tatmudic period, I can only give in chapter 12; but I will only refer to the Assyrian Exutants later.

nor in weuif;en getegenttichen Verniuthungen /iirückkoninich, da it tiditt zu Weiterem über sie au jedem |i(i^itiven Antiait.

§ 17.

But also in other competitive areas p(tdnr,tni Uiuuh theite of Israet theits already tange \or the bab)tonic exit theits during de!>sethen. The following biblical data from the pre-exit time: according to Joet 4, 4^ - 7, the PhoniJ'icrn and PbiJistaem brought members of the R^ithes Inda into the Tewanim (woht Jonier) sold to Sktaven and ihie Zaht nmss woht the I^ioiihet promised the \\\iti(isMing of their return to his messiahship Hos 11 10 the return of the sons from Weaten is promised in the following verse and Sech. 10, 10 dje from Egypt and Assy- rien; nor viet Isa, 11, 11 a homecoming from Ashur, fitani and Shinar, from Lower and Upper Egypt, from Cush (A e th i o- t>ia), the Syrian Chamat and from the Insetn (or coasts) of the Mediterranean Sea. From other parts of Bibet, note 9 -teii evidence that prophets at the time of the Babylonian t:^xit announced the return of fellow tribesmen from Phoenicia, "from Ctem North and West", from Tarshish in Spain, from tCut (or Put) west of Egypt, from Lud on the west coast of Arabia, as it seems to me, from Tubat in post-Matian Pontus, Cus Sefarad in northwestern Cteinasia, and from Jonia. Of the countries that have been sown, I distinguish Ashur, Etam

and Scbinar, as we have already mentioned the exiles who were transferred there; and for the same reason, >those from the Laude der Sinem did not need to be listed here. We will examine the other countries mentioned.

The fact that during the Exit Jews in Phoenicia were the grocer's is demonstrated in the note above. The location of Cbaniat as well as its and its area's importance as a trade was already discussed on p. 26; however, it is quite untrue that about an Assyrian king had transferred one of the exutants there, because while the Bibet was counting the distant residences of the Assyrian exutants, they had seriously neglected to name this next residence of the same. Instead, the

Jewish trading settlements already founded there by Satomo; note only that according to 2 Kings 14, 2H C Chauiat around S20 and s<;hon tange before, maybe even from Satonio on was under uninterrupted Israelite rule. The Israelites on the "islands (or coasts) of the sea" (Jos. 11, 11) must also be thought of as those who had visited them for the sake of trade, for emigration from Palestine for other purposes certainly did not occur in such early times. ' It is not possible to determine which islands or coasts of the Mediterranean were meant there; however, without a doubt, this included the nearby and busy Cyprus and perhaps even Spain, either way.

Fatah happened to the Jews in Tarshish as early as Isaiah 66:19.

We found above that long before the Exit a fairly considerable trade on land and sea had already developed in Fatestine, and the example of the Phoenicians could therefore also encourage Palestinians to undertake such great sea voyages.

It is possible that it was done on Phoenician ships, like the Ofir voyages under Satomo, and of course then for the richest wages, as well as presumably also for state concessions for the Phoenician trade with and in Palestine. However, Palestinians who went there could also settle there, as factories and in other mercantile -t

C The rtortige words t'Jhuda b'Jhrad are natürtlich corrumjiirt, aber wie^ man sie auvti emeudirir mi'ige, ihr Siun kann nur sein, dftEE Ctmmat damats^ von Jetiuda an das Reich Israet getangte,

■ 57

Stettiingeii, just as the Phoenicians had done; and attmatically a Jewish Nredertassmig arose from this, wdche the Kingeboreiien

■ not at all distinguishable from the phoenician. About the

H tassuugen I will retien § 52 in more detail. Furthermore, the return of the brothers in Tuhāt, Öfaraīt and Jonieīi was still in the K Kxit

^1; by Tubat are to be understood the Tibarenes on the south-east ^H ticbea coast of the Black Sea, and in this note 9 ^H it is shown that Sefarad appears to be identical with a landscape ^m ^iīarad on the Bosi>orus or in north-western Stone Asia, - as well as ^H ci "ss is not to be decided whether the Israetites in Tubat ^Bund Sefarad started from the Assyrischbsn or from the Babytonian Exu- ^Bjfi-Dtcn, but the one as well as the other is possible ^^<?:i. In both cases, the migrations to such distant

iijn</ already there to large handetsbtüthe suitable areas can be

erktaren differently ats from a mercantitic course; although

aixcti, if they were invented for other causes, could not rule out

that a Theit of the immigrants sogteich or with the ^öit at the

tebhaften there Handet betheiligte. I am more uncertain about the

people in Jonieu, because they cannot be from

jerK^i: ^ as from these exutants, it would also be fticVi-t well

conceivable that they had come there like those in Tarshish

directly from "^^' jiatästiuiöcheu coast; indeed, it is so- ^v-

possible that the exoteric prophet Jonien btos co-called 'C^C^t-e

in memory of the mentioned process that some .Tahr-

'^^ '^^"- cXerte previously many Judeans were sold there for sktaven,

^t">:i-eud these and their descendants may not have acted as Jews

^'""^--Iten. That something similar does not come from those

CCct<in, of whose sojourn in Egypt three ^C^I>hets of the eighth

century B.C. already speak, ^^Ci "m that we may and must think of

them when searching for traces of the Jewish handet CC<^ti, was

already shown in Note 9; when Jews visited Egypt and under favorable

^stfinden also settled in it, it happened according to the situation

^""f^vteren btos for handets purposes. And not a single fact or

■--'^vagation is opposed to the assumption that there will be no

I

J

A different motive led to a considerable increase in the number of new employees at the beginning of the exit period.

►of Jews to Aeyyp-teu, they flee there with their families  
1 before the wrath of Nehuchadnozar: but the Laudbaili was not accessible to them there, and the high level of industry there had certainly also almost destroyed this acquisition, which is why they must have turned to the hand of Vi-te; according to Jer. 44:1, they had "turned to the hand of Vi-te".

in Migdot and Tachpanches, both south of i'ctusium, as well as in Memphis and OberftgyilJten. That the Jews io

' the land of Put (or Put) to the west of it from those ä'gyiitischeu would be possible, but it could very well be that Jews had already moved there long before the Exit, perhaps again in imitation of the Phoenicians, who certainly did not get btos Sotdat "n from there (Jech. 27, tU), but also drove Handet there, for we will see later that this area offered a good fatd for this. Furthermore, Isaiah already knew of Jews in Cnsch, and Zef. 3, 10 is thought of them. In view of the fact that it is probable that the Oftrfatirians under Satonio were already trading and exchanging goods on the Ethiopian coast, and that the trade connection between Ethiopia and Arabia was growing ever stronger, we may

we inherit in those Jews of Cush gteichfatts handetsteute, who had visited Ethiopia on the occasion of later Ofirfahrten or from Aitat direct and had accumulated there attmäUg.

Jews must have settled in Lud in exactly the same way as mentioned above, if I am correct in placing this country on the west coast of Arabia. It could only seem striking that there is no mention of Jades in Ofir anywhere in the prophetic promises, while

I think they will have settled and settled there much sooner than in Ethiopia; and I believe that

i those two prophets under Cusch co-conquered southern Arabia. have stood, as often happened. C

I t)ucti s. V. Cuach,

iuti tiierfiir on Wiieiei'n bititic RL-atwüner

In Vuraiisteticiiik'ii wiinton. almost me ;iir (Inimi WTMtreui'tiM'  
Aeusseniiigen iter t'riiphuteii, üit; frfiiiitcu LiUntor aui'Kcfiibr, in  
wetchen even before the end of t)attytonis<itieii Exit Israetittin  
This has to be expanded in one direction and restricted in another.  
It is certain that these pniiitu'tuii have no knowledge of the  
lying, in wetchen after  
uad has already penetrated the Jewish votke's territory  
■ were, nor the intention "ehaVit, atte these regions iiiis; and  
we may therefore assume that Jews were already settling in even  
more countries than those mentioned. Other  
On the other hand, these i>ro|iheti mentions in no way represent to  
us that atte countries mentioned in them had contained uniiinitial  
or even only permanent Jewish settlements; for certainly only very  
siiiare and quite unhestinite news came from them to those Jews,  
among whom the prophets lived, but who nowadays would like to see  
them in a procession.  
in their niessianiscien Schitderungen.

FeiTier, while I certainly do not assume that in at least the  
countries mentioned above, the intensity and extent of the Jews'  
involvement in the trade would have been the same, I firmly  
believe that at least  
a sweeter or stonier approach of them over this praise- erwcrb  
retained "Here ergritf. Some reasons for this assumption have  
already been given, and others are: one can already during  
During this period, but even more so in later times (vergt, \$ öt), we  
can see that the foreign regions and localities in which we find  
Jewish settlements were mostly of a cantitital interpretation, and  
that the choice of precisely such places for new settlements was based  
on awakened ttan-  
(tetsfiinn schtiessen, apart from the fact that it still had to be  
fastened, reinforced and awakened in Sotchen, which made it  
oftein did not have. So then the striking phenomenon that  
Within the Mos 180 years from the beginning of the Assyrian exit  
towards the end of the Babylonian period, exutants over the un-

^^1 today's Baiiin from the "land of tier Sinen- to the Bosporus or tiis

^M amat a low level of hamietsheheiiheit of thesetben satisfactorily  
erktart ^1. At the end of the day, the "knowledge" of the pruiihets of  
s" numerous

^B and usually so distant from the Jews that there was at least a  
weak connection between the latter and the majority of the Jews at  
that time, which, however, was best established through trade journeys  
or trade relations.

^M Incidentally, it seems to me inconceivable that there is a  
connection between the spread of the Jews across more and more  
countries and their ever-increasing  
a changing effect takes place in the course of the  
Ifand. At first, however, little of this natural and almost necessary  
process can be felt, even if it must have already begun; but only in it,  
and indeed in an almost continuously increased intensity of this  
alternating effect, do I find

The fact that the Jewish tribe was already so widely spread before  
the destruction of the Second Temple, as we shall see in § 50, and  
that in this dispersion it has actually become a handetsvotk. We  
will have to return to this later; in general, however, it was only  
now possible to speak fully of at least the trading areas to which  
foreign Jews were ascribed here, because, on the one hand, they  
could only have taken possession of this activity to a small extent  
and quite actively beforehand; on the other hand, most of the  
trading areas mentioned only attained their full significance  
later. It therefore appeared

It is more appropriate to postpone their presentation to the third  
section of this work, as we have to talk in detail beforehand about  
the further history of the Palestinian Jews.

Fifth caliiitet.

From riailiitot itcr imtüstiiiiisctiea Jiiitoii from Exit tiis i-twa Hitt Jiitir  
iiach Atexander the Great.

§ t!t.

When in 740 and again in 720 BC the population of the kingdom of  
Israet was removed to other countries, a very thin layer of the  
population remained in the homeland, and the depopulated land was  
taken from several regions of Assyria.

Ketches Cotouists sent. Both groups merged into the Samaritan  
flock, and some of them will have turned to the handet, as far as  
the example of their Phoenician neighbors continued to have an  
effect, but also as far as a Sidonian element had joined this  
mixed flock. vergt. ant. 11, 8, 6. 12, 5, 5; also Hess according  
to ib. 12, 4, 3 jeuer Josef, who became tax tenant of Ptot.  
Euergetes, paid a sum of money for his journey to him from friends  
in Sa-

who may often have come to Judea. Likewise, a not insignificant Jewish population must have returned to the territory of the Kingdom of Judah during the Babylonian Exodus, for the poorer part of the people was initially subordinated to Gedatiah, and many of those who had sought refuge in neighboring regions during the war also returned to him; After Gedatiah's assassination, a large number of them escaped to Egypt, and five years later Nebuzaradan led another 745 Jewish families into exile: attain both groups together do not seem to have been as numerous as those. Of course, when quieter times arrived, some of those who had been active in Judea also turned back to the handet, and we have already seen,

Obadiah v. 20 is probably to be understood as meaning that at that time Jewish merchants peddled as far as Sarepta in Phoenicia. His expression sounds like a day about this, and we connect with it

inet  
Jiidf

^M Ju(U

^H ats

L

itie Vertieissinifj; sn viek-i' t'niiiheiheteii that Israet will return from attftn frtminuteii Läudei-n, with Erwatmimi^ also sotcher countries, Where btos the handet could have led them, it seems that the prophets saw something shy about this occupation. This could have been due to the fact that a Jewish religious life seemed quite incompatible with the ttaudet among pagans, especially in distant lands, even if it was not yet as micro- tosic as it later developed. Furthermore, this decline have a patriotic reason, inasmuch as those who settled in distant lands for the sake of the handi .Jewish vote could be completely alienated, for the night not only for them, but also for Israel, which was in any case weak and visually weak. Finally, in connection with the fact that the Jewish nation was based almost entirely on agriculture, the more noble spirits also felt how the more valuable way of inheritance promoted the independence of spirit and character (just compare the messianic exclamation of Micah 5, (i, the remnant of Jacob will stand among the many flocks, as on the herb Tbau vim Gott und tiegen herabkoninit, nichts hoffend von Menschen), dagegen der Handet so teicht die Ehrlichkeit gefährde und überhaupt den Charakter anfresse. Meanwhile



ticher gain proved more powerful than those noble motives, and Israet was irresistibly driven towards his destiny, in the most eminent sense of the word; yes, we do not want to be angry with this fate, because not only has it ripened some good fruit, but without this direction the continued existence of the Votke would not have been possible in some times.

During the period to which this chapter is dedicated met, also in the two hundred years of Persian rule over Jiidaea and in the further hundred or so that passed before the Greek spirit succeeded in gaining ground in /aht-rich Judeans, the activity of the Palestinian Jews appears to have been of very little importance, less so before the exit. This is all the more noticeable to some, as After Ohigeui, it became clear that Viète, who came from the

Those who had returned had brought with them a rather tebful trade, some as far as they had been able to devote themselves to the trade there, and others as observers of the trade in Babytonia, which was just as rich as it was hütendeii. Attein the t>inge days were quite different. A large part of the population, about 42,000 families, returned with Serubabet, but this is only due to the fact that the majority of the Babytonian exponents had found or established a permanent existence, and therefore the sense of stability in them was not so strong as to leave them in the lurch. Those who had passed over to the handet are not to be thought of here in the first place, they dwell in babytonia, , and in the attgemeiuen seem, with some exceptions, to have moved home to the same three strata: the Annen and Aermereu, who are responsible for the home-the pious and the pious : just In these, however, a mercantile inclination was least likely to be found. And once they were back in Judea, there was more to strengthen them in this respect. Namely, the massive number of returnees naturally meant that the land was rather sparsely populated for a long time, and as a result the main occupation of the fathers, agriculture, had to be abandoned, be all the more productive for the individual. The following circumstance presumably also worked in the same direction. The Persians had no sense of trade, and even despised dealing with it, but they held agriculture in high esteem as an occupation worthy of the Ormuzd: this could not have gone unnoticed during a two-hundred-year presence of Persian pashahs, officials and garrisons in Judea. atten influence on a small caste that has always so readily accommodated itself to the views of the ruling caste in its own affairs, and by the fact that the Jewish land was reduced to Judea was restricted or rather not amat this gauz

the Idumeor, one was cut off from the sea and from many of the previously mentioned Handet roads, which must have been very disadvantageous for an heir to the Handet. Finally, the increasing strictness of Jewish religious life since Ezra

G4

the handet iiiizertreiiiitictien Uiii- gaug mit Heiitea sowie das Reisen  
iu uiid durchcti Heiderüaud, Wahr

It is clear that in Patastina, as in the Diaspora, even an increased strictness in this respect made the Jews' domestic activities much more difficult, but did not slow them down. Attein in the later Palestine, powerful moments, which are to be cited at their origin, have given entrance to the handet ; and in foreign countries the bitter need of the life the Jews on this path; sotchen potencies towards the Jewish statutes were not able to put down the Handel; instead, the individuals sought and found a tacit compromise between the two. In the first centuries after the Exit, however, we do not find such po- tences in Judea, but rather others that even counteracted the handet's operation somewhat, as we have just seen: under such circumstances, the aforementioned religious moment also had to have some retar- dative power, especially in a (hegemonic) system that resembles a theocratic oasis, as Ewald calls this period - the "Hittite rule".

§ 20.

According to the atten, the Palestinian trade must have been very insignificant, but we cannot assume that there was none at all in this period. A modest domestic trade could not be lacking in any civilized country, and it would not have been possible to completely do without some products from nearby and more distant countries; however, they would have sought a market for their own products, as it is likely that in a small country with an initially very large population, even more was produced than consumed.

There is, of course, an almost complete lack of both biblical and other data from which the mercantile nature of this period could be ascertained or determined; they are limited to the following. Neb. 3, 32 the godsmiths and the specialty grocers of Jerusatem ats special gitden, and in The verse before even mentions a bazaar of the latter, ob-

where it is possible that this is to be understood as a pre-existing locality. In 5, 2. 3 there is also mention of a corn-hodet in the stone, and according to 13, 1B, wine is also brought, Grapes, figs and other items for sale to Jerusatem.

Furthermore, we are told in 10, 32 that Gentile sellers brought "goods and some grain" to market in Judean towns, but on a festive bus day this was also taken from the votke, among other vows, not to buy anything from the things brought on the Sabbath and feast days. End- tich 13, 16 - 21 Nechemiah tells us that Tyrians traveling in Judea brought fish and other goods to Jerusatem on the Sabbath.

for sale, which he had ordered the evening before.

The city gates were closed and guards were posted near them to prevent the goods from being brought in. But the merchants had taken their goods several times on the Sabbath night before Jerusatem, presumably to sell them to those coming out during the day, and it was only when he threatened to use force again that they no longer appeared on the Sabbath.

It may also be to this period that Ezra ascribes the provision that the itinerant merchants should be allowed to sell their wares.

itire goods also in such places, which are already would have their own shopkeepers so that the items for sale would be all the more attractive. We would also be in mereantihscher relations

hung but woht know more about this period if not so extraordinarily little would have been written in it and for some time after it, since the first 350 years after the Exodus belong to the darkest times in Jewish history. With regard to this period, I will only mention that the death, measure and weight of the Palestinian Jews during this time is discussed in the first article, n. 2.

But since Atexander the Great, or rather - since the protracted battles after his death, among which Judea also suffered terribly, were not favorable to any upswing there - only since Judea came under the scepter of the Ptotemaeans in the year 301 must the hand of the Ptotemaeans have been constantly revived and expanded. The evidence for this and the causes of this upswing are described in the following

66

chapter, it should only be said in advance that these causes are certainly and even with increasing success, but by their very nature only had an active influence, and that this still Two human ages passed before its first modest effects emerged. Therefore, although this time can already be considered to belong to the present period in causal terms, it still belongs to the

previous period in factual terms,

pitets still belongs to the later period, in that the whole time from the Exit to about 230 BC can be regarded as that of a wind gap in Judean trade.

Second section.

The judaeiaetie Haudet from about 230 BC Ma deep into tatiuudisctie Zett.

Sixth Kai>itet.

AUgeineiiea about itensetheti, primarily on the basis of the wechaetvoUcn geaethichttic processes of this period.

§ 21.

Before I go into the causes and evidence of his now I have to justify the way in which I have chosen to treat this section. First of all, it might seem obvious that I do not divide this period into two, the first of which extends to the destruction of Jerusatem, while the second covers the period after that, as far as it can be presented, since the catastrophe that occurred between the two has so powerfully reshaped Jewish life.

No matter how much I approach the latter in many other directions, and although I further concede that Jewish trade also suffered greatly from the events of that time, which I myself will discuss later, the findings of the investigations I have undertaken have shown me that Jewish trade, both active and passive, was neither extinguished nor forced into other channels or underwent other major changes in the wake of that catastrophe, which is what was demanded.

fi8

tiätt(!ii, with itir a specialo t'iu'inde aisiitietioii; itasw he lost to irüher in scope and betiituu;^ entitles to this not at all, and moreover it does not want to be on any speci of a votke often happens that its periods coincide with those of its general history. However, I have a second reason for summarizing the period before and after the destruction. Namely, while almost my entire presentation so far has been based on the barest of biblical allusions, and will therefore seem daring in many respects, anyhow

While this arinuth tui data prevails even into the time of the Herodians, the more recent writings (namely the Mishnah and Talmud and, against his will, also Josephus) offer rich material.

teriat to a history of the later Palestinian handet, only by means of it do we get on solid ground and can, so to speak, go to the bottom of the previous appearance. Also

for the periods already baptized can be inferred from this young material, but I avoided this, as far as the justification for this can be disputed, I did not want to multiply the negative assumptions, to which I all too often saw myself limited, without benefit. It is different, however, with dense

If one finds in the Mischna and Jeru- satem Talmud data of a commercial nature or which include a commercial moment, then one may use them without hesitation at least for the last 200 years before the destruction, as long as they do not appear unsuitable for this purpose for internal reasons. And since in most respects this is the case, a separation of the two periods would lead to the situation that, when dealing with the former, we would for the most part already be able to anticipate what the Quetten give us for the latter, and for this latter, despite the importance of the quets about them, btos a scanty night's rest remained.

- Furthermore, however, the large amount of data that now confronts us invites a detailed and, if possible, comprehensive presentation of all aspects of the subject.

I am all the more reluctant to reject the former periods of need.

n

69

had to be dealt with so briefly. It is precisely from this rich™ detail that the reader of this edition will be able to fiudeii out what of it is already worthy of attention in earlier editions, and atso that these could be r,est'itteu more partially. In accordance with this, however, I have to keep this short time uniitn^htbei dai, it will not be possible to avoid ta'i^eu that miiich parts will almost end up in monographs; ^nJeres howtei h it e I, however, where appropriate, in contributions and notes veiwiie'-en

§ 22.

We must now look at the general history of this period.

The potitical, social and religious processes or conditions of this period can be explained to us here, insofar as they had a demanding or damaging effect on the trade. How before

begin with the appearance of Alexander the Great in Judah. He was honored with reverence in Jerusalem, favored the Jews, and also took into his army the rulers of the Jews, which they certainly regarded as an honor. Reference has already been made to the protracted wars after his death and the fact that Judah finally came under Ptolemaean rule for almost a century in the year 301. The third Ptolemaean died in 221, and throughout these eighty years, with only a few interruptions due to wars of the Ptolemies with the Seleucids, the Judaizers had it quite good, for the first three Ptolemies were all kind and wise princes, and on the part of the same three we are even told of expressions of reverence for the Jewish rulers; words like those which, according to Neh. U, 3(i) at the time of the Persian domination: >"We are servants on the ground you gave to our fathers", would now have been unfounded. Furthermore, it is self-evident that acquaintance with the Greeks broadened the horizons of many Jews and gave their minds a freer outlook: Hellenism arose, in Judah as well as in Alexandria, and its spread, even if only through the better-placed Titeii of Votke, was greatly aided by the fact that the Wohl-

70

worship of Alexander and those three Ptolemaeans had a very good opinion of the Hellenism; they did not yet realize that it would be dangerous to the practice of the Crenionian law and, in particular, to Judaism in general, as well as to Judaic patriotism and even to morality, so they sucked in the sweet poison. The reader will feel that

The aforementioned must have been conducive to the awakening of a new sense of hatred; in particular, the previously discussed fear of an activity that required contact with pagans and was not compatible with strict observance of the Crenionian laws.

appeared to be a bit of a burden, for the Hellenistically inclined certainly had "a point of view that has been overcome". But there was also Hellenism, which worked in the same direction. Above, we have seen the insignificance of the post-exile trade was due to the small population of the country and the fact that the Persians, the ruling nation at the time, held agriculture in high esteem but disregarded trade. In both respects, things were quite different now. The population of Judah had grown so much after a few centuries that emigration was already taking place: in one particular case, however, the individual's land ownership and his profit from it was smaller than before, which meant that agriculture was no longer practiced as extensively, other forms of income were also sought, and the most profitable of these will have been all the less excluded than by the now ruling Greeks.

It would be quite astonishing if, under the rule of those Ptolemians, who in every conceivable way the Judeans would not have given their contingent to this state. Nor can the example of the Alexandrian Jews, whose great activity we shall consider later, have been without attentive influence encouraging emulation on their nearby tribe. Furthermore, the aforementioned significant increase in the Jewish population naturally also increased their total demand for foreign goods, and both locals and foreign traders were used to purchase them. stimulated to increase imports. To an even greater extent in

71

whose by the time in the population of Jerusalem had increased, according to Hekataios (cited contra Ap. 1, 22) shortly after Alexander M. it must have been entered by twelve myriads: but without significant hands one cannot imagine such a rich city, and of course even less so (the Jerusalem of the Herodian period, since it was then one of the most cosmopolitan cities of the Near East.

§ 23.

The handicraft, which must have been inherited in Judah since about 230, could not have been "under the sceptre of the Seleucid, for his first Seleucid ruler, Antiochus the Great, was even quite favorable to the Jews, and even under his successor there was nothing to harm the country's traffic. On the other hand, it suffered from the subsequent turmoil and the tangled Maccabean - was certainly getting a bad push, especially from the side that under the patriotism and retro religious fanaticism discovered at that time, the Jewish Hellenists, who were just as unpatriotic as they were retro religious, were almost completely disregarded. In fact, it has already been shown how the invading Greek views helped to awaken the trade. But after it had awakened and found a massive spread, apparently no other class of people was as receptive as the merchant class to some of the contradictory concepts of the Hellenic views. The merchant class came into contact with many pagans, and not even with paganism: this made it more competitive and more deadly, but in many cases also more secure. more opposed to religious statutes, and how difficult it is for anyone who is not thoroughly convinced to take the step from there to being opposed to idolatry in general! The predominant focus on profit also favors this and weakens local patriotism. In the end, it will have to be admitted as almost self-evident that Hellenism is far more prevalent among the Jews -



the rest of the vote : but this had to be done according to the current

r

^H na

Location tigr Liiii^t: tiauiitsddititti be the Kauiteute . imri that priests and setbst Hübē|iriester were also among his followers does not change this. One only has to forget the manyfadi

such a similar "upsurge" among the Jews in the first half of our century. These were also freely accepted by the "students" and those who had otherwise visited or visited barns; but even the last two categories and the other > trainees belonged to the largest part of the wealthy merchant class, naturally with the inclusion of the

The wives and daughters of these merchants would have been "born". And since the three categories mentioned did not even exist in those ancient times, we must assume that the most numerous adherents of Hettenism were among the merchant class of the time. Many of these Hettenists were now killed by the victorious and heated Mackahaian troops as traitors and aiiostates, and even more numerous ones were chased and driven out of the country.

However, the latter were indeed for the Judaic, but not for the The Palestinian handets were completely lost, for it seems that they mostly moved to the handet cities on the coast, and that the numerous Jews we encounter in these later were mostly descended from them. Many Judeans were also freely

moved there even before the Maekahaeen WiiTon, p. 7.^), at times presumably also for trading purposes. - However, when calmer and better times came under Simon Mackabaeus and his son Yochanan Hyrcanus, the previously received ini|iuts must have been revived for trading purposes, as most of the reasons for his inheritance continued to exist, and we will see that Simon had a far-sighted eye for its growth. Also new favorable primal matters were added. Yochanan's successor Judah Aristobut took the title of king and was so fond of the Greeks that he was given the nickname Phithetten (friend of the Hittites). Had he not died after just one year, there is no doubt that Hettenism would have regained a foothold in Judaea and the Handet in the manner shown above. However, this happened at least through the aforementioned adoption of the royal title, which from then on, albeit with confusion

attei- Art. Ms to Htüodea" Tock, KK) year tau;;, Judaa's master  
 schem and was later only allowed to be led by Agrippa for a short  
 time: a royal court is in atten times aroundi countries the  
 handetsteuten of the residence uud setbst

The importation of the goods must have been encouraged by the  
 unbridled love of splendor during Herod's long reign.

Nor is the conimerciette effect overlooked, which the  
 Watt journeys to Jerusatem, to the three high feasts, as well as  
 other occasions, were necessarily practiced. In pre-exilic times,  
 these pilgrimages were very extensive, and even after the Exit  
 they may have continued to be massive for centuries; but after  
 the Maccabean wars they must have continued to increase, also  
 through the participation of Jews from all those numerous  
 countries to which we (in g 50) will send the Jews.

The people of Jerusat were actively engaged until shortly before the  
 destruction of Jerusat, when they began a veritable exodus.

Jud. 2, 14, 3 the number of those gathered for the feast of  
 Pössach in Yeniseat was given as 300 myriads, ib. 6, 9, 3 as  
 270 myriads. Of course, such voyages brought a lot of goods  
 into the country, and even the momentary feeding of such vast  
 masses required a cotossate supply of food; but not only this  
 both had to provide the handet, stimulus

This was also due to the fact that, as I said, there were an  
 extraordinary number of foreign Jews among the Wadders, who came  
 from countries and cities that were the seats of the most  
 expensive merchants, and many of them were merchants themselves:  
 this must have broadened the Judeans' horizons immensely,  
 stimulated their emulation, and even provided them with trade  
 connections. - By

But in order to continue the interrupted historical overview of this  
 period, it is necessary to expand on the fact that the Judeans had  
 actively spread throughout Palestine and even beyond its eastern and  
 southern borders. Already in

In the narrative of the first Mackabee battles, we encounter  
 Jewish settlements at Jabneb, in Joppe, in the lowlands

C Mätirtieutiaft aiiiiit itafür Tos. Pcsactiir  
 ^Myriaden angegeien.

I

some of the same vortituti<sup>h</sup> did not last (vergt. I Mactt. 5, 23, 45. 2 Mack. 12, 4), but others survived. However, after the Mackabans had liberated Jndfta, four of them resigned in succession. Simon, Jochanan, Judah Aristobut and Atexander JannÄus, also conquered, so that according to Ant. 13, 15, 4, the rule of the last f;enauntcn also extended over all the cities on the sea from Stratonsthurm to the Egyptian border, over Sainaria, and over some cities and landscapes in Gatihta and beyond the Jordan. Naturally, Jews also settled there among the indigenous population, now and later, and many of them, especially in the seaside towns and other trading towns, will not have lined up to the busy traffic of the same. From the Further history of Palestine I mention only for the sake of clarity that from 64 B.C. onwards the Romans intervened more and more forcefully in the fate of the city; that as king by their grace the Idumean Herod on the Mackahaeans, from 34 before to 3 after Christ; and that After his son Archetaus, who ruled as ethnarch for four years and htos, Judah was made a province of Syria and remained under Roman rule until about 40 and after a four-year interim reign of the Herodian Agrippa, until the revolt broke out around the year thio, which ended with the destruction of Jerusatem. The many changes of rulers that took place during this period in the other regions of Palestine and beyond the Jordan, or other events and conditions at that time, cannot be discussed here. It is true that under the so frequent wars, massacres, and other misdemeanors, estimations, and exaggerations, which are reported to us from these times, must have frightened the people, and also have made their hands empty; but once awakened, or even brought to a certain degree of satisfaction, it does not cease altogether even in such times, for in them, too, the needs and luxuries we have acquired want to be satisfied. In addition Yes, also in between times of recovery, of rest, and in thisiiij

very kieineü indeed, but potitiscti damitats vietgestattigoi  
Laiider- area some areas were versctiont, while others hard titten, üebens we will batd it dun.h fhatsacheu be- confirmed that, even in these strange times, the patä- stinian handet was still in some ftor; however, the times after the destruction were no better j i tui handetsbetrieb even more unfavorable, and there will be countless proofs of its continued existence from Mishua and Tatmud.

§ 24.

My assumption is that from around 230 BC until the destruction of Jerusatem, albeit with fluctuations over time,

must have taken place among those resettled from there to neighboring areas, but as I said, this is not based entirely on I also include a longer series of other data, which directly support this assumption, but would be irrelevant without it. I give them, as far as possible, in chronological order, and only regret that I have to begin with the most insignificant ones.

After ant.

12, 3, i animal skins were imported to Jerusalem around 197 and naturally also before and after this year, naturally for shoes and other leatherwork. Sirach mentions 26, 20 (29) the wholesaler and the grocer, and would not have admonished so often (there as in 27, 2. 37, 11. 42, 4) to honor in trade if this had not been practiced. At that time, around 180, the import of Greek goods must already have been considerable, since according to Shabbat 14, b, their use was covered by a statute of the scribes.

According to Tosifta Machsheirin c. 3, this statute was enacted a generation later for wheat imported for ships from Alexandria; the latter may have been freely invented only in years of fallow land and bad growth (vergt. ant. 15, 9, 2), whereas it need not first be stated in a citation that grain was continually imported from the land.

was put up for sale after the rich Jerusalem breath.

Xach 1 Macc. r, 58 it was already customary before the Maccabean in

Judaean that on the 1st of each month the men from the country went to the cities: I can only understand this from monthly markets. It was also early on that the country folk came to Jerusalem every Monday and Thursday, to B. kamma 82, a for other purposes.

purpose, but even then it must have developed into weekly markets. According to an albeit uncertain reading in 2 Macc. 3, 4, there were already markets immediately before the revolt of the Maccabees

a market in Jerusalem; we will see in § 39 that there was a so-called market. According to 2 Macc. 4, 9. 19, shortly afterwards the high priest Jason sold to Antiochus Epiphanes the authority to tax the Jews from Antiochia who lived in Jerusalem: this could not have meant only Caucasians, and because of the large sum for which he acquired this authorization, their numbers and their business operations must have been quite significant, 1 Macc. 14, 5 we read, the Maccabee Simon

had conquered Joppe, in order to possess a harbor, and made it the place of importation for the islands of the sea; as already ib. 13, 29, on the column of the funerary monument which he dedicated to his own he had erected widely visible stones: the star therein tying encouragement to Sehandet would have been in a Votke without other newsworthy handet settsam.

It should be noted here that an anchor is depicted on some coins of Alexander Jannaeus and on coins of his son Eukratides Alexander II and Herod, and that the latter's son

showing the trident (vgl. Levy history of Jewish coins p, 58 - 73); to the reign of Jannaeus, however, as we have already seen, and of Herod belonged numerous maritime cities, the Gteiche is probable from Alexander IL, and to the territory of Archetau belonged at least the harbor cities of Joppa and Caesarea. The four did not have a naval power, but apparently the said emperors celebrated their possession of maritime possessions, and rulers of this kind will naturally have favoured the sea, as we know for certain from Herod, in § 44, but also from his great rulers. Some things can be neglected for Cftsarea. But let's return to the interrupted chronological list.

77

Nach Ptiitu 2, 457 tiättuui the Kssätir in Patästina of the Gross- as Kleinhandet and the Sctiift'fahrt had given way: but ühue namhaften Handet of the remaining Judaeans he could not emphasize this at a kleinen Secte dersetben; but it should not be concealed that for this hett. .tud. 2<sup>8</sup>, 4 btos it is said that there is no buying and selling among the Essenes. Furthermore, it was

Although I have already noted that Aristeeas is not a reliable source, this is only true for times before him, but for about 90 B.C., the period in which I believe I have to place him, it would seem to be more worthy of belief when he says: "A great quantity of aromas, precious stones and gods is brought to Jerusatem by the Arabs, for the land is well hewn and suitable for jttiudet, as is the city of art. Nothing is lacking there of what is imported by sea, as there are good harbors, Askaton, Joppe, Gaza, Ptotemais". Up to the same

By this time, however, as we have already seen above, the Maekabean territory had reached the greatest extent granted to it, and ieti had also used this for a successful expansion of the Jewish handet; I must go into this point in more detail here.

Among these acquisitions were also many

and to Theit important trading places, first C the sea cities Dor under the Kännet, Stratonsthurra (the post-maternal Caesarea), ApoUonia, Jo[>pe, .Tabneh, Gaza, Anthedon, Baphia and Rhinokotura, then a little inland Azotus (Ashdod), finally Scythopotis and the Perftian Gadara. And that Jews moved there in large numbers

detten, vietteicht batd, jedenfatts aber nachmats, ktar hervorgehet aus, dass nach Phito 2, 575 die meisten Einwohner des sehr votkreichen Jabneh Juden waren, nach ant. 14, 5, 4 von Gabiniua a Jewish synedriuui was conatituted in Gadara, according to ib. 19, 6, 3 Dor had a Jewish population, and that according to Bett. Jud. 2, 18, 1. 5. 10 at the outbreak of the Vespasian War

In Casarea over 20,000 Jews were massacred, in Askaton 2500, in Ptotemais 2000, in Joppe 8400, as well as (without any indication of the number) those in Gaza, Anthedon, Scythopotis and Gadara. Of other cities on the coast, in Gatitää, in Perea, which are demonstrably da-

C The Aiif/ähtiini,' ant.. 13, ir>, 4 is to be replaced by ib, 14, 4, 4.

Ju

^B ch

^^ be

iiiiits had a jüiH-scIie tievütkeruujf, I refrain here; but it is  
nndeiikbar that in the aiifj,'ezähtten zahtreichen Haiirieis- Orte Juden  
zum Theit in ^rössten Menge gewohnt und fiteid'woht

It is also not without significance that the Jews of Caesarea, since  
Iterodes the ttaupthandetsptatze of Patästina, have not been bett.  
Jud. 2, 13, 7 and again aiit. 20, 8, 7, wealth was attributed to  
them.

However, we were forced to return from the old days in  
it to descend into the younger one: let us now return to that  
one. Straho says in his 16th book: "the Jews, who come as far  
as the sea, make use of Joppe as a harbor; by the way, he did  
not understand the Jews here to be the compact mass of the Jews  
in Judah, those living among a predominantly pagan population  
in the coastal towns escaped his not exactly sharp gaze.  
Whether his addition: -es (Joppe) is, however, a true RanbnestC  
as an anchorage of Ranbers, also at  
Jewish pirates must be left out of the equation; any  
fatts is not to be confused with this, that according to bett. Jud. 3, 9, 2  
many Gittaeen Jews defeated by Vespasian turned to Joppa  
and from there to Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt.

According to Strabo, this happened only out of great necessity and  
for a very short time; but at least it presupposes a not  
inconsiderable knowledge of shipbuilding, which could be acquired  
by the Gittaeans both in Ptotemais and on the Sea of Tiberias.  
Furthermore, in view of the fact that Josephus'  
time more Jews than Gentiles must have lived in Tiberias, and  
that the other inhabitants of the lake mentioned must also  
have lived there.

The two messages indicate that he mentions a party of boatmen from  
Tiberias in his vita § 12, and bett.

Jud. 2, 21, 8 tells us that he once brought together at least a few  
ships of this lake, 230 in number; these were not only used for  
catching fish, but certainly also a great many of them for  
transporting the inland trade that took place there. According to  
Strabo 16, the Jordan was also navigated upstream with barges, as was  
Shabbat jer. 4, 2 the transportation of grain  
is mentioned on this footnote; and according to bett. Jud, 4, 7, 6 gave

to take up a Roman army to destroy the enemy. Or how could it be imagined, without a Jewish-operated fen- cible voyage, that according to ih, 7, 5, ö Vespasiau in his triumph over them "many ships" niitvnr lead Iiess nnrt that Taanit

jer. 4, 5 a thousand ships were ascribed to Etasar ben Charssum, albeit with a Maasitian drift ■' The tents mentioned in and from that period also testify to the trade that took place; I will discuss them in detail in § 47.

At the end of the day, it seems to me that the particularly strong hostility against the Jews, which Josephws ascribes to the Tyrians in Acts 1, 13 and in other places, can hardly be explained in any other way than by the zeal of the Tyrian hand, which they must have felt all the more keenly because at this late period the Tyrian hand was already

The Tyrians had already shown a lack of zeal for Jerusatem shortly before the babyto- nic exit.

The reader should note that the citations provided in this paragraph and the conclusions drawn from them relate to the times before the destruction of Jerusatem. I can only give an account of a notable Palestinian handet in the 160<sup>th</sup> 200 years after this catastrophe at a later date, and one trust the assurance that they are conclusive. But it has already been said that the times after the destruction of Jerusatem were much less favorable for Palestinian trade than those before it; and if they show us an aotchen of not quite insignificant extent, this is more proof that it must have been quite tebhaft in the previous times, and indeed already in so far as the later one would otherwise hardly be erktären: these later times were intended to make a weaker progress on the earlier trajectories of trade.

but by no means capable of turning a previously non-existent or hardly noteworthy activity into a more active one.

§ 25.

If we now summarize what has been said in §§ 22 - 24, we would like to prove that in the last few years

r

80

Iiitndei'ten before itor Zerntiining Jerusatems iter jiiitäiscbe and then the i>atft.stiuische Handet im Attgeineineinii not at all insignificant

during the last century, which must have been significant in the maritime cities; more details about this and thus still

The following chapters provide further confirmation of this. For unbiased readers it would probably not have been necessary to have presented such a large amount of theoretical and factual evidence for this: but I could not let it go on, since Josephus expresses a completely opposite view, and either this or the spontaneous opinion prevails that the ancient Jews, of this period as of the earlier ones, were almost without any activity, Josephus says against Ap. 1, 12: "we do not inhabit any land by the sea and enjoy

At first, he may have been thinking of more ancient times, for with these words he was trying to explain why the Greeks had not learned of the Jews earlier; but if he was thinking of the Jews in the past, he was not thinking of the Jews in the past.

even though he described the antiquities of his country in twenty books, he was nevertheless a very superficial attestationologist, and moreover those words seem to be a phrase used for poetic purposes: for both reasons I could not

because of them regarding the earlier periods that I contributed Eibeistetten uuverwerthet tassen. And even if he had the latest period in mind when he said these words, I cannot reveal all the considerations and quotations in this chapter because of them, especially since his assertion that "we do not inhabit any land by the sea" was decidedly unfounded for this period,

as was proved earlier from Josephus selbst. But whoever in the fact that nowhere in his voluminous writings does he commemorate any activity of the Palestinian or foreign Jews of earlier or later times, would be very much mistaken: he evidently lacks a sense for such observations, nor does he commemorate with any word

of the even very extensive set of alexandrian Jews, despite the fact that he speaks of them so often and so extensively.

Basically, however, the lack of sense for this and for

other aspects of the Volksteubeus, or the fact that such things do not belong in historical works, in the case of quite old historical cores of the past and more recent times: only the most recent was the progress reserved for the fact that in the historical works attention should also be paid to small things.

And the fact that, as I said, the opinion prevails that in the alteu Israet, as good as it was in Palestine, there was almost no trade at all, is due to the fact that the traces of it have not yet been sought out or taken into account: the main difficulties of the present work and the reason why I had to overload it with citations and other evidence consisted precisely in the fact that I had entered a still completely unworked area in it.

But that opinion is also often expressed from an apologetic



independently accused of chess, that it seemed forgivable to consider at least the *attenu* Jews as almost total strangers to the trade, wherever it may come from,  
<taS8 As often as a *handet* has been attributed to Jews of the biblical period in our day, a single Jewish scholar "ties does not resist with scientific calm, but almost like "have rejected the insult. I wish readers *iiud* assessor *sine ira et studio*, moreover we need the *Han-* "tets of the *attenu* Jews are by no means to be ashamed of us, I hope to show this adequately in the *Schtuss* paragraphs of the work,

§ 26.

However, we must now also look to the times after the destruction ■Jerusatems a little closer, of course *gteichfatts*, only under <From the mercantile point of view outlined here. The catastrophe was horrific beyond description. According to *bett*. -Jud. 6, y, 3 *sotten* >*bci* of aging" 1100,00U perished "ind "during the whole war" 96000 were made prisoners "Verden; the latter were also lost for Palestine, in- "Jem sie *theits ebenfatts* in den Tod geschickt, *theits zu Sctaven* were sold. And, of course, this robbery and destruction made the state of the estate quite extraordinary.

^L their

shattered: yes after *ib. 7, ß*, *fi sott Vi'sijasiai* the *f;anze* conquered land *ats* his private! *geatbuiii aiiKeseheii iiiiiit ti* "fotitea to sell the *Aeckfiv niiit* houses. *Attein* spite of this, some historians go *viet* too far in *schimening* the *nuninehrigeu* conditions.

The Jewish population of the country was by no means almost entirely eradicated, *tteun Patästiua* had before your war a far greater , *ats* those dreadful *tten i)ctragen*, and moreover has .*toscphns* expressly added that the majority of those who came around were foreign Jews who had come to *Jerusatem* for the *Passover* and had been surprised by the aging in it. Also consider that otherwise they would not have in the post-maternity stand-up of the *Bar-Kochba abennatC?* via a has been able to move around with Jews, even if the majority of the Jews are assumed to have moved in from neighboring countries.

and that, apart from this event, the Palestinian Jews in the times before as well as after *Bar-Kochba*, although they were very badly affected, still seemed to be a little fleece, to the extent that the Romans were again concerned about them. And the sale of their *aeeks* and houses, which was initiated by the greedy *Vespasian*, could hardly have led to anything but a large

*Theite* would have been carried out: after the first tenth of it, there was a lack of pagan buyers for it, moreover, there were no

The only trace of its execution is that the survivors were able to get back their immovable property for a very substantial sum, while a portion of the immovable property of the deceased was handed over to the Gentiles, who were willing to buy it, and the far greater part to the spared Jews. Their situation must have become a Jewish one again. R. Jochanan ben Sackaj founded a house of learning in Jabneh, convened a synod there as well, and thus created a new religious and national center of the people. His peaceful demeanor and work must have pleased Vespasian and Titus, and in any case, after the defeat and severe punishment of the rebellion, they were happy to return to their not at all harsh attitude.

83

Herodians , A.Lrri|i|ia II. and BeieuiLe ^ehi tiestarkt \on wetchen the two first iu itirer Gimst stmiten w Ihrtn d Beiemce bekennttich von Titus teidenidenschafttich wnrde Ei pressungen mugeu t'reitieh jetzt wie in jeder sjiiteieu Zeit \on &eiteu of the governors and their subordinate officials, but we do not find any more burdens imposed on the Palestinian Jews than on the other subjects of the Roman Empire.

unless the extremely minor diss them as tUe tuden of the The two denarii, which every emperor had paid hishei ata temple tax, were now paid according to Kom. It will also have improved their status many times over that descendants of the Hittet were now considered to be patriarchs or ethnarchs and the Re^ieiun^' was thus given the RC (jimtiet \on about 80 to 118.

Vespasian died in the .tahiT 7't Titas already Ht and his Brother Domitiau 96. the last one wdi atterdings m seiuti spUte- - a cruel prince during his reign, and there is no shortage of evidence that his terrible spy system

The Pataestinian Jews also had to suffer; but with the exception that he collected the aforementioned tax with brute force (Suetun in Domit. c. 12), nothing hostile to the Jews is known of him. Nerva, who reigned after him from btos to 98, was of a benevolent nature and lenient towards the Jews. Even after Trajan held the imperial throne until 117, their situation only changed in the last period of his reign. It was then that the very numerous Jews rose up against the Romans on the Euphrates, in Egypt, Cyrene and Cyprus at about the same time, by appointment, but without a common ptan, which enabled the Roman fatlords to defeat them one after the other quite quickly. Whether and to what extent

Trajan was also very suspicious of them, and therefore made the defeater of the Jews at the Eu-phrat, the tough Lucius Quietus, governor of Palestine. But Trajan died shortly afterwards, and his successor Hadrian tried the path of compliance for a long time: he appointed Quietus

6C

^L Jei

84

and even showed himself to be not averse to the Jews' wish to rebuild the temple; there was no lack of other signs of his good understanding with them. Later, however, he became concerned that the temple might rekindle the Jews' desire for independence, and he thwarted its construction by means of fugitives, at which the Jews were so indignant that riots would already have broken out if the wise R. Joshua had not appeased them. But after his death, nm 131, they attacked

to take up arms, and for other reasons as well, otherwise it would not have happened that the Saramitans joined forces with them. They were led by a strong-minded man who, it seems, drove the Romans out of the whole of Palestine and was now known as Bar-Kochba (son

of the yernes) who- the Messiah pretended to be, or was declared to be: this and that the highly respected R. Akiba recognized him in this and Hadrian, who traveled through many countries to win over the Jews of those countries to his cause, brought him an influx of unprecedented crowds, and he took up residence in Betar, whose relocation to the western lowlands of Samaria is not entirely certain. Hadrian sent against him his best enemy, Julius Severus, who, after many battles, besieged Betar and conquered it in 135, but must have done the worst in the slaughter of the people and in the thorough desolation of the country, both before and after, if he had been able to conquer it.

Also the report of Cassius 69, 14, that betos had died in the outposts and shafts of 5K0,U(X) and that 985 "of their most significant settlements" had been destroyed, seems to be extremely exaggerated, since Pataestina could never have contained such settlements at all.

However, Dio will not come out ahead

They were right in saying that "the whole of Judea became a wasteland": it is said that after the withdrawal of this

(nihilum in the otivenrektion fTötita the anbtick of an oetbaum was a settenheit. Quite oftenViitiar it looked even worse in Palestine after this new catastrophe than after the destruction

of the Votke would still be left now, because otherwise the

85

indeed, what is further reported by the Jews who have died there, without any trfti^er: it seems rather that the largest number of those who have now perished

belonged to the aforementioned influx. Against the Uebertebcn-Hadriaii proceeded with great severity, not to exterminate them, not even to harm them physically, but he enacted drastic laws against their religion in order to stifle the nation's desire to draw nourishment from it; iind so that they would never again think of gaining a center in Jerusatem, he turned it into a pagan city, which he named Äetia Capitotina . which he named Aetia Capitotina, and forbade Jews to enter it on pain of death.

Unfortunately, Hadrian died as early as 138, and his philanthropic adopted son Antoninus Pins, who reigned until 161, revoked his decrees; quite a few who had feared them now returned, and in the small Gatian town of Usctia a religious center of the Votkes was reestablished. Some of the riots that occurred in Patastina under this emperor were of no great significance, and the conditions were

The population grew steadily, and although the gaps torn by the visual impact never closed completely, the population did increase again naturally. The after

Although the emperor Marens Auretius (Uit- 180) was persuaded to reinstate the Hadrianic edicts by new movements of the Babvhmisc Jews, who were also able to re-establish themselves in Palestine, the highly celebrated R. Simon hon Jochai went to Rome, and at his instigation they were withdrawn after a short time; in general, this emperor was somewhat hostile to the Jews, but far from being harsh towards them. Nothing is said of their lot under his successor Commodus (180 - ti)2), a good sign! Now there was a short war between Septimius Severus and an emperor of the ninth century, in which the Palestinian Jews, although unaffected, also suffered heavily, but otherwise Severus (193^211) was not hostile to them. He was succeeded on the throne by Caracatta, and by Severus Auretins: they must not have had a very good time among them either, although nothing at all is reported about them from this period.

As early as 218 the aiissi'tiwijifi'nite Hdiof^'atrat became emperor, iiiiit in his time the patastiiisctien Jews even enjoyed some Beyünatigimgen. This was even more so under his successor Ate Alexander Severus (232 - 235) of the Fatt: this chief of good

protected their private affairs, and Ring was cordially involved with the then Patriarch K. Jetiuda II, which together earned him the derisive name of the "ruler of the synagogue" on the part of the Gentiles; at this time the Jews were so uninhibited and again exalted that the said Patriarch had to abolish the day of the destruction of Jerusatem.

§ 27.

To continue this historical overload even further is unnecessary for my purpose. It shows us that in the whole period from about 73 to 235 there were only nine years of great misfortune, the last two under Trajan and the horrible ones from 131-138 under Hadrian, but that in the remaining 153 years the Palestinian Jews lived in a Teidtic state. However, the fact that this period was so thickly populated could not yet justify the conclusion that they were in it

would also have had to have cultivated the Haudetsthatigkeit; only the possibility of this could not be denied even then, since the Jews of the Middle Ages were able to act in much more undefended states. But the matter is different. As has already been said, our patristic literature contains innumerable traces of this trade, and even more no-

tizen, which invite you to take them as sotch at the same time. If that time had been as shuddering throughout as it is conventionally regarded, it would have to be quite un-shuddering to think of any notable Jewish trade activity in it, and to limit with suspicion, or even completely reject, anything to the contrary that those traces seem to indicate. Now, however, we have found the conditions of that time in such a way that they do not exclude a massive commercial traffic, and we can therefore assume approach the said traces with the utmost confidence.

87

Here voii'iitin;ii I can itii'tit them, but I would like to anticipate the main content of the following chapters of this section; there I will weave them into the presentation of each chapter.

to her in its proper place, For now only the

I would like to draw your attention to a few points. Namely, in the peaceful years, this country produced useful and even edible products in greater quantities than were necessary for consumption, and The same was true of some branches of industry that had been established in it earlier but were by no means now fully developed: both were used to sell the surplus to locals and foreigners.

On the other hand, in earlier times people had become accustomed to numerous things, which deepened their condition: these accustomed

one does not stand with the destruction of Jerusatem, and who sotch could pay for things, bought them, we will see that also

not even the Passivhandet ertosch. In any case, we must not think of the Palestinian Jews of this time as being completely impoverished: myriads were plundered by the warriors of Vespasian and Titus, and other myriads slipped through, and in the quiet years from 73-115 a large part of these lowly flocks recovered; and from the disgrace that set in among the few important scribes of that time were several of wealth or even wealthy people (R. Tarfon, R. Jischniaet, B. Gamtiet II, R. Etasar ben Azariah and also his father, R. Nechunja, R. Akiba in his later period), we may on the same favorable fate of countless others in the future. A more comprehensive impoverishment will not be achieved by the uprising, but an attitudinal improvement in the This must have changed again in the almost completely peaceful years from 138-235, even if I do not want to cite the fact that the patriarchs R. Yehuda I and II possessed great wealth as proof of this. Furthermore, we will later from individual examples that the Palestinian Jews at this time also maintained a few ships; and that this was connected with a massive maritime trade, we may assume all the more, as they were by no means from were cut off from the coast: we find explicit mention of this,

R8

(tass aucti iindi in iticser Z^it Jews were ansftssig in the lake cities of Jatinch, Casarea, Chaifa and Accn C, and so they may have hewot other Kiistcn cities. In the end, there are numerous passages from the Mishnah and from the Jerusatemer In fact, they had such a developed right of action towards them, as presumably could not have arisen in any other way than from actual existing traffic, but at any rate we must not grant the cartelizing authors the thoroughness to work through and compile a comprehensive manual law for a vote without manual activity.

Seventh chapter.

The ErT^tiii^nisss of nature and Inituatric, wekhe damata in patüBtinisciS ILimU't were iiiut /um Ttieit also iuB Aiistaud went.

It seems to me niithi;; to send your aut'zithtuni; vinitre remarks before au. First of all, this essay can't be a vottstitudiße, deu we don't have any atte products.

dicjonien of them, which came to the handet, in sei'e gesannnte Kenntnis" hiervon ei'ftiesst .nrr ans getegentlichen and quite often bts for example gesctichenn mentions in Miwchua and Tatmud; also the in § 36 gogidwne Aufzithtng der austftndisctien Dinge, wcthe damitats in den patitsttnischen Handet kamen, muss ansetben Grunde unvottständig sein. Moreover, it seemed sufficient to me to list only those of the products known to us that were likely to be of at least some importance in the country's trade.

On the other hand, although the information provided about each article

C Jabneh became a centrat punkte derscihen by R. Joctianan ben Sackoj; the rabbis of Üäaarea are demoj jer. 2, 1 efwähut, it gah also

E. Abba of C, uud Moüt kutan 2R, a there is even mention of zwiitftauBeud Jews there; also a R. AMia and an It. Abdime from Ctiaifa are mentioned, and Schn%eletirtc from Acco aiud Bota 37, h, 40, a,

those rtirecten or tatenten comtnoiTJettiiti Naciirii'hten are given; but I gtaubte, also those Artiket not pass over to be allowed to make such statements, about which there is no they could not, by their very nature, have been excluded from the handet. Then I will explain the word "daniatS' used in the heading of this chapter, as I attribute every listed type of handet, in which the (regency is not detected, to both of the new hands of this period created by the destruction of Jerusatem. Of course This is not to say that it would have had this mercantile significance in both periods, for before the destruction the Jewish population of Palestine was by far richer and more prosperous; but this point must not be taken too seriously.

highly appreciated, ~ because in the times after the destruction the pagan population of the country was undoubtedly somewhat larger, and in both periods the Jewish traders naturally did not waste time seeking a market there. Nor should this "then" be taken to mean that before this period all the objects of trade that had been brought up were not yet in circulation there; we have heard the opposite from some of them earlier.

I have already seen them, and it is probable that others were already in the Palestinian trade; I just did not want to enter an uncertain ground by selecting those who had already appeared in earlier periods of the Palestinian trade, but preferred to use them for the goods trade.

nisa of this period, to which they undoubtedly belong. The lista of § Uti, concerning the goods on display in the Palestinian market at that time, also contains many that were already there earlier, and some that were already there much earlier.

to be performed in the previous periods would have had to be too subjective, Ks will now not be able to provide what can be inferred from the attentive quotes about each manual article to be performed in terms of mercantility.

It should be avoided that this brittle material may somewhat deaden the presentation, and furthermore, in this as in the following chapters of this section, it will have to be used much more frequently than before.

I

(turcti StotteiKiiiHnt'eii iiHt-crt'niitn.-i! wonteii: irs appeared iiiic atuT gerectitfeist, on a still iidit worked area in front of Attein the materiati ziisanmieuzuti'ajioii and itarcb Antfttu-ung tiuetten sicherziistettfin. - Znnadist now sottt in seven paraj^raiition difr, hietiergehöri|:en buiuiisctien producctt wenteu.

deep cereals and products from svtcbrin.

Not everyone was able to harvest all the grain they needed themselves, if only because of the large number of people in the household; aucti operated Viète, naoienttit'h in this later period, other employment in agriculture, and for both reasons naturally an internal trade in grain had to take place. The wheat, wine and dates of Palestine were well known so excellent, and was obtained in such quantities, that wheat-ftbren, wine cranberries and date pattens were placed on the Mackabai coins as symbols of the country. Ats the main paws of the W e i z e n haudet there appear Tiberias, Sepphoris and .iskaton {B. kamnia jer. 9, 5. Tos. Otiotot c 18), but before the destruction of Jerusatem, Tetzteres must have been far superior to them in this respect; every district town had a smaller grain market or at least grain sellers. Without doubt, individual producers often brought their surplus for sale there; but distribution also took place, and as it seems predominantly, in both of the following ways. -There were people who The grain was bought up by individuals in the country from their surplus grain and the stocks collected in this way were taken to those markets for resale; since Greek times these were called sitnit (from Oiräi'vjg), but we shall see that later, out of ignorance, the larger traders in other articles were also called sitnit. And just as often, the grain haudet was mediated by food traders, who traveled together in large numbers to bring their supplies to market or to a large grain handlers, a train of this kind was called (■tiamrtd;



according to B. mezia 73, a they also led to wide the ge-

grain from one region to another, where it was more expensive; one such move from Gittaea via Kesib to Tyre is Demaj jer. 1, 3, another from the Gittite Arab to Sepphoris Taanit jer. 4, 1 is mentioned. Sometimes the whole

Train or a theit of the same transportation btos in the service of a Siton, and then presumably on their own account, but according to B. mezia jer. 5, 8, the Eset leaders undertook it mostly for their own account; and that they also did not buy grain along the way is all the more probable, as we read in ib. and Sifra 241, a that they also bought flax and wine (the latter not in hoses) on a separate trip. From the price of the wheat and other

I will summarize this in the second article, price data are more informative if they stand side by side; here it should only be noted that according to B. kamma jer. 9, 4 the wheat in Tiberias was often cheaper than in Sepphoris. According to Tos. Machshirin c. 3, wheat was imported from Atexandria, but only in the ritual fallow year and in times of bad growth; in good years, much more of the local wheat was sold to neighboring countries, namely to Phoenicia, but certainly not much in such periods when the local population was very strong. I found no mention of a trade in other types of grain, but according to Kitayim jer. 1, 1 setbst die von sehr geringem Werthe, wetche sunin hieß, aber noch nicht sicher wiedererkannt ist, in den Handet von Ort

came to the place. We can assume this from the barley.

which deepened the bread of the poorer classes and was grown a lot. Palestine still had three types of grain: spelt,

"vp'uchsähre" and shifon; the second is presumably oats, and there is still a lot of uncertainty about the third. -

The fact that different types of flour came onto the markets we read in Machshirin 6, 2, of Meht on a Jerusatemer market Menachot 10, 5, and also of pagan Mohthändtern in i)atä- stinischen cities and villages is in a Boraita Posactiim 40, a the Iiede. Bread and other baked goods were sold to Demaj 5, 3. 4 not btos in bakeries, s(mdern also in market stalls

and sold by special bread merchantsC. From roasted barley grains (kcdt) at a market in Jerusatem tesen

we gteichfatts Menachot 10, 5 - makers of two kinds of groats are mentioned Moed katan 2, 5 in such a way that these had to be made for sale, and effectively Mach-

were mentioned. Perhaps a barley beer was also sold, even if only by the brewers themselves, for Jerome mentions a drink made from grain as one of the types of the Biblical spherhar, and since the Egyptian "barley wine" was known to the later Palestinian Jews, as we shall see, they would not have refrained from making a surrogate of it.

Rice and hulseed.

Rice (ores) is not yet mentioned in the Biblical scriptures. and this is not coincidental, since he must have first become known to western Asia through Alexander M.; however, his post-maternal culture in Palestine is vouched for by Demaj 2, 1, and Tos. Berachot c. 4 shows that bread was also baked from them. - Of the Palestinian legumes, peas, beans and lentils are often mentioned in the Talmudic literature, and the last two were even mixed with cereals by The others baked geichfatts into bread. The beans were also used to make groats (Joma 18, a). The Egyptian The bean is already to be mentioned here in part, since according to She]iit 2, 9 and also according to the Jerushatmi, as well as nartw^ Demaj jer. 2, 1 was also cultivated in Palestine; a distinction was made between green and dry beans, the latter were milled like grain and thus provided a common foodstuff, which is why Nedarim 7, 2 judged this bean to be a type of grain. lthough I cannot prove from the quotes that they were in the Palestinian handet, this can hardly be doubted.

C tieber the words wiawj>o7 and ^a^fer used there for this purpose vergt- §^ and note 23.

Pfodocte iteti WeiiD^tockH iiiiiit Pt-üpai-ati' ;tus itiiicii.

Wine and Oet niüsaen naeji If. t)atrii !)1, a dio Hiiiiii)t{fej;eii-KtAnde des patastinisciien Handets wein, iiiut ziit'ntge einri' von Kimchi zu Hos. 14, 7 mitgetheitten atteren Nachrietit gehörten In the Attfiemeiaen, Palestinian wines are among the best in terms of taste and bouquet. Mcnachot 8. 6, five places of Palestine unknown to us are mentioned, whose wines are the most excellent of the These do not include the vaunted ones of Hebron, Askatou and Gaza, or the last of them. at the court of King Guutram of Burgundy for the most delicious drink; furthermore, a red wine from Saron Nidda 2, 7 is mentioned, and a black wine IJ. batra 97, b, but it is doubtful whether the latter belonged to the Palestinian (vergt. note 21).

The wine was supplied to him from Judith, and this must have happened all the more extensively after his death because he had become so extremely rich. How important the Palestinian wine trade was

{B. batra (i, 2, where there is talk of wine days, which contained hundreds of barrels, in Saron hundreds of jugs, of which no one was told.

"r in large earthen jugs. The serving of Weiu was also unmeiu strong, because according to Beza 29, a. Tos. Beza c. Ü, Abba Scha,ut had once bought three hundred large pots of btos from the foam that he sold; the addition to this, a comrade of his had once made three hundred pots of oetes from what was left in the glasses when he poured them into the (ieräthe of his customers - arouses btos suspicion against the number, not against the factum itself, and I do not want to conceal the further addition there that both would not have used this profit ats them znkomuiend to common useful things. Incidentally, the wines from I'atästiua must have been very heavy, as according to Nidda 2, 7 with twice as much water, according to Pesachini 108, b even with three times as much. - Spiced wine is already in the

Hoheittiede 8, 2 erwätiut, iimt iu miKi^rer Poridde tiuiteii wir von sotchen Weiieii fjeiiamit : das üiaoineti aus WeinC Honig und Pfeffer, sowie einen mit. der unktaren Beuenuung "/(t/itisC aus attem Wein,

-ktarem WasRev and Batsam, both Shabbat 140, a. and the former miichte with the Joma jer. 1, 4 cimditon zubenaainten "wines; then Marc. 15, 23 a myrrh consecration, the Pti-nius 14, 15, and Keritnt 6, a one mixed with Kaiieni. Of course, atte four came into the handet, and from Shabbat 2U, 2. Maaser scheni 2, 1 they result ats heimisc tie preparations. Three other wines of this kind are mentioned in Ab. sara 30, a, one btos with the addition of peat, one prepared with Absynth, and a sweet one called Baragwasser, but the tetzte woht does not belong to Palestine. Tns. Demai. c. 1 and Pesachim 42, b a wine vinegar is mentioned with the remark, It used to be made from water that was left to stand on grape seeds or mixed with white yeast, but was later made from wine

-Words. I will talk about the sale of grapes in the fruit section, and about the sale of honey in the honey section. Raisins were prepared, but not very much. Demaj jer. 2, 1 ; the raisins of Hebran had a reputation. A wine made from raisins is B. batra 97, b.

Otivenöt nnd Otiven.

In Palestine, and especially in Gatitita, the oetbanm was grown in large quantities, mostly in its own (young, and from it

The red of Provence was even superior in quality; according to Menachot 8, 3, that of Tekoa was the most prized. Purified Oet wii'd B, raezia 3, 8 and often mentioned. The oet played a much larger role in the house there than it does now in the evening, because butter does not spoil far away in hot countries and therefore  
If it is not prepared in large quantities, it replaces their stew many times over, and OS is also eaten much more often because of its flavor;

C An essence to the Hes|irengeri of the fiissboden is Berarhiit .fer. 6, 8 atinttiia ^eaa,uat, nnit tiürt'te man dve tatmuitiacbe Erktfttruiig von abmti" ftatgeben könnte dabei au Stui/^o;, die uiu'eife Feige, gedocbt werden.

I

It was also used as an additive to niiuuchertei mfidiciiiiischeii mixtures and for rubbing the body, after taking a bath such as without this antasa , and of course also for lighting. It had to be a significant article of the Binnenhandet, and the already p. 93 from B. batra Ut , a and Beza 29, a init-  
^etheiUeu notes confirm this. Viet of this, however, also went to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in particular to Phoenicia, Syria and Egypt, as already in ancient times. In particular, many Palestinian Oet now ranss have gone to Atexaudria, where after Shabbat 26, a only had a certain little tangential retigot, to which Ptin. 15, 7 frnt agrees; according to bett. Jud. 2, 21, 2 to the so numerous Syrian Jews, who abstained from the ritually forbidden pagan oath", but who were therefore abused by covetous people, who had to pay for the Jewish-prepared food with item eight times its price, could be distributed by "pious" intermediaries, just like us Lutaw and Esrog. In addition, at least the poppy seed oil and the nut oil mentioned in Shabbat 2, 2 should be included.

The olives were also known to have been eaten raw, softened or soaked in water, and they must not have been a domestic handmade product, but  
were presumably also exported, as for example still today from Chaifa under the Karmet; the small but very tasty otives of the Decapotis seem, according to Ptin. 15, 4, they seem to have gone to Itatia themselves.

S 31.

AiisnntAmigen of the Dattetpatme.

Whose of these godmothers was also Ptin. 13, Judita bcrühuit, and Jericho was called from her the Pahlenstadt , according to Strabo 16 was

their utilization was not well reflected in the fruits, because the dates, despite their value, only provided a small part of the benefit that this palm gave. The dates were eaten fresh as if they had been stitched in, but they were also squeezed out, and the juice (called Nedarim 6, 7 d^tasrh, later Bibs) was eaten like other honey with bread, as if it were food.

r

which deepened its valued p a I ui e u w <; i u. The de-kei-ated dates were riveted together to form a cake-like mass, which provided a quick food source when traveling in the camwau. From the branches of the palm tree

made mau baskets and similar fabrics from the fibers

Knitting and twine (vergt. Eruhin 58, a), pumpkins , mats , brooms , as well as a sctireibniateriat , ihid the seeds of the dates were used for vichfiitter, ttas most of this came naturally in the domestic handet, some also

went out of the country, and the latter can also be seen in the patuia wine and dibs as well as the dates. These, of which there were several varieties, were even transported to Rome in dried form, where a large variety of them, called Nikotaen, was found to be a favorite treat of Augustus

sott, and according to Maaser scheni jer. 4, 1, the Jews there also liked to eat them. According to Strabo 17, in his time the patä- stinian Jews would not have allowed the patme of the JJussdattet and the batsamstaude to grow too much in order to obtain theeu products at a high price: the value of this maassreget may be doubly aetn^ about it also prevents the export of thesetheu.

l ft^

L

Itauinfrüctitc.

The er(iuick (ieuuss of fruit in general was in tästina viet more often ats with us, and they therefore came tteissig in deu market traffic, I have most of the Betagstetten for this, to decontaminate the representations,' iu Note 10 referred: to them

is the sale of grapes, figs, dates, pomegranates (including

Otives, maudets, peaches, apples of paradise and nuts, and so the other fruits of Fatästina will also have been in the hand, as they will have been among others.

still called Aepfet, fiirneti and cherries, the citnme has also been severely lacking. These fruits were sold by the owners of Baumgarten at the market, although they were usually sold at

The t'firsich was wotit only in s|ititercr time ei uge bourgeois, it is certainlyhö- tieh aiiermcu, but Kitajim 1, 4 persica called, utiii was vietteicht with dor Schebiit 5, 1 mentioned Beraiit identiecti.

of the scales (B, kamnia 119, a, Machsichiriu 5, 11), but in the last sentence there is also a sale of the olives with the Maasse, and Maaser scheni 1, 4 of otives and grapes in baskets and with them. Niisae were available from the grocer (Beza 3, 8), and since, according to ib. 29, b he also sold other fruits, it is all the less doubtful that foreign fruits that were taken there, e.g. damascened palms and t'istacia, were obtained and sold by the grocers, as

with us the southern fruits. Maaserot 2, 3 shows that fruits were brought from Gatitää nacti Judäa. According to Tcrumot 11, 2, an apple wine was also in the handet, and according to Ab. sara 40, b they used very atten arzneitich. But there is still a lot to add about the handet with figs. In how extraordinary ticher quantity they grew in Palestine can be seen from Berachot 44, a, even if the information given there suffers from incredible exaggeration. They were therefore usually dried, and presumably this is how they came into the handet, according to Ab. sara 5, 2. to ships. More often, however, they were pressed atsdau in the form of large Brode, and according to the Targum of 1 Sani. 25, 18. 2 Sam. 16, 1 these seem to have been sold by weight, quite and in pieces, which were cut off with a bit; perhaps also went into the state, regardless of the fact that, according to B. tuezia jer. 2, 1 from the trausjordanischeu Bozra, figs of smaller size were also introduced. According to Joma 7(3, a, the consumption of Keita's fig leaves had an intoxicating effect, which was deliberately induced by means of an essence.

Greenwaaron.

Their sale is attested by Demaj (i, 12. Tos. Demaj c. 5 and the following citations. According to Ketim 17, 1 the gardeners brought them to market in cups (barrels or boxes), according to Machschirin 6, 2 the suitable species in bundles; but you could also get them at stalls and from buyers who also sold many other things. C Maaserot 1, 5 is intended for the market sale of cucumbers, pumpkins and metons.

C Verg]. M-'i-i iii ä 37, 1 aii,i g ;i8 about chiiniU iiuJ sHoh bei'cetirarht.



CI9

Cassia, nnit there would be no (.Timiit in itii \iiintimt that their consumption there had not continued even in this later period; but there is also no lack of bpIpr- stets for the use of thisi and still amierei precious aroma at that time. Incense stored in the last temple

/Mention is made of the actual "smoker's sweat" in the Jerusem temple, at least in the latest period.

Time, according to Keritut 6, a frankincense, myrrh, cassia, nard, cinnamon, costuin and other aromatic ingredients, of which the incense (mtif/mur) may have consisted, which according to Berachot 1, 6 was to be lit after every witched meal, is not specified. According to ib. 43, a and ib. jer. 6, 6, musk was also used later, and it should be noted thata the htam mentioned in Shebiit 7, 6 also means musk in Arabic. - The fact that artificial oils were made in Palestine is shown for somewhat earlier times by Nech. 3, " and Kohet. 10, 1, for this later period Maas^r scheni 2, 1 and Deinaj 1, 3, and ats sotche are used.

in the Jerushatmi to the last stette fotiatiini, Rosenöt and Jrinou in a way that vouches for their production by Jews. It is of no importance to us that the fotintnm of Ptinius

13, 2 is counted among the Sabbaths; but he pays eight precious substances which would be used for its preparation, including costuni, nard, amomum, myrrh and batsam, the nard was in this mixture woht predominantly, because he also calls it "ardUvmn" there. According to Sctiabbat 6, 3, this foHotnm was worn by the women in a Ftaschcheu on the Hatse; the mention of the Nardenötes Marc. 14, 3 is somewhat unclear. According to Sc'habbat 14, 4, rose otto was also used medicinally; the preparations used to make it were

The rose cnture must have been a specialty in Jericho, whose roses were famous, but also in the rest of Palestine.

strong, since according to Shebiit 7, 6 it was even subject to the laws of BraehjahreH. The Irinon, Ptin. 13, 1 mentions, was more of a satellite, derived from the titien-like iris dance, and perhaps identical with the Dioskor. 3, 116 mentioned Susinon.

C There, in fact, the Reite in Be/iig aut ihiiiaj, tiessen tieKritV sction the Jewish origin of the setben iuvotvirC.

100

(tesseQ origin itie S(?iiiiiti,sdie Beiiieiiiiiii^ verriith. We know nothing more about a tiatsamot mentioned in Berachot 43, a.

A Menachot 8, 3 and üfter Oiiiiitiakinou henautes Oet was

It was used as a cosmetic and medicinal ingredient, and as an additive to some mixtures. Myrrh was used according to bett. Jud. 4, 9, 10 used by Jewish women; we encounter a mixture of myrrh and aloe in John 19:39, The Myrobatanon, in Nussforn, whose oily juice was often used to make healthy syrups, is still a product of several countries.

kenneu ternen, according to bett. Jud. 4, H, 3 it was also native to Jericho. C Of course, all the things mentioned here must have been objects of the Palestinian domestic trade, whereas it is doubtful that Palestinian products of this kind went to the Ausland, since Antioch and even more so Alexandria strongly promoted this branch of industry and had a large share in it.

of the many foreign materials mentioned here, which must have been used in the Palestinian production of these luxury items. Some of these mixtures may

have been willing, especially in so far as they were completely or largely thcits were to be made from local products, other matter were very expensive, and we cannot be surprised that according to Marc. 14, 5. Joh, 12, 5, a liter of nardentite cost 300 denarii (i.e. 328 grams of it at 183 marks): only the high prices that the individual aromas used for this purpose had in Ptius' time can be forgotten in the wide range of IL's contributions, as well as the fact that according to Athenaeus 15 the cost of an Oriental satiety in Athens was 100- 500 drachmas (i.e. 0.27 liters 61-305 marks).

Nevertheless, these things were used very frequently and abundantly, especially by women, e.g. Josephus a. a. 0. biervou uses the expression "overgossfin with myrrh red", or Ketuhot 6, 4 the young wife was set to receive a tenth of her

C After I'tin. 12. 4ti would have vüd itieaer t'Vurht the Siktittn bereiter btos  
<^^^^| I ächateo, die Aerzt" die ferne nusgepresst. ^^^M

101

to be allowed to introduce ("iutes tiieraut", itiid some highly exaggerated news, which icti witti under the text,C always prove that it is possible to use dayon. However, this absoudert luxury must have diminished considerably with the destruction of Jerusatem, but the citations given show that it did not disappear even then.

I would also like to mention the cyperhtiime, which was used to make a putty; women used a solution of it in water to dye their nails, feet, lips and ears orange or saffron-colored, not exactly with a classic taste. The cyperhtiime was after bett. -tud. 4, 8, 3 and Sehebiit 7, G native to PatästinaCC, and

Dioskor, 1, 12. t even the best border of this "center of beauty". The tree itself or the putver was naturally in the domestic handet, but it may also have been left to the outside world, as it was frequently used in Egypt and Cyprus. The kechöt mentioned in Shabbat 8:3, a mixture of putt-putt spit dancing and Oet , and perhaps identical with the Biblical }>ux:h\, but it is uncertain whether it was a domestic make, as it is very common on monuments from the Pharaonic period. Also tiett. Jmt. 4, t), tÜ is the AugentiirtKiUf; gedacht.

Fruchthnni^, Bierieuhonig, wax.

Due to the double conversion, the butter did not get much /ui \erwenduug under the heat, and sugar did not yet known, the honey tartons had a much greater economic importance there than in our country.

- According to Ketubot bij b winde the toihter of Nicodemus ben Gorion, whose dowry atteritin(!9 had been a cotosbite, /uerkantit, bioi/ii tttteiii ^tÜÜ Giitd- denare (6100 Ittark) terftufigaben to be allowed to determine whether the tiinruRefiigte tebo Imjäm -ti^tiih" mean sotté, t)e7weifetp icti however And after Job t't, 30 were, also by one Nicodemus, at Jesus' burial a hundred liters |(a mixture of myrrh and aleot) has been used'

-C \ietteiht is Hohched 1, 14 to understand that it was drawn in Engodi er-werksmassig

102

already mentioned above, and the grape honey was obtained by boiling the must down to the thickness of syrup. But they also had bee honey, and beekeeping is mentioned in the Tatmud not set the speech, bett. Jud. 4, 8, 3 it is by name the It is attributed to the region of Jericho, and according to Phito II. 633, the Essaeans in particular dealt with it. Wax occurs in the Tatmud as shaawa, but also under its Tateinic name cera, and was used for the production of writing tablets (Ketim 24:7) and for medicinal purposes, as well as for lighting, but according to Shabbat 2:1 it was not highly valued for this purpose, as the production of wax tablets was still very unvotkoniuien. Of course, these four articles were used in the domestic trade, but the grape honey would not have been given to the Austand either, since he is even now setting himself a notable handetartiket from Patästina bitdet.

§ 33,

In general, the Palestinian Jews, as in the Orient in general, ate fish more often than in the evening, but it was still a very common food, and in the ancient Jerusalem the livestock trade must always have been very important because of its crowds, but at feast times it was exceptionally large, just think of the hundreds of thousands of waders and their feast sacrifices and other food, and that according to Matt. Judg. 6, 9, 3, the number of Passover lambs once amounted to 256,500. In addition, cattle were almost always used to till the fields and to bring in and thresh the grain, and were often purchased. Cattle dealers are mentioned in Shema 7, 2, but this was understood to mean only the sellers of cattle, including calves, then sheep and goats, not of horses, eunuchs, camels, swine, and with the latter, even before their breeding was frowned upon, very sedate Jews may have been engaged; the "sellers of lambs" and still more especially those of Passover sacrifices are mentioned in Beza Jer. 5, 2, and

In view of the expected yearly number of these sacrifices, it should be noted here that a large part of the sacrifices was made on the basis of the the Petraean Arabia and also went from Moab. Many had professional cattle dealers who sold livestock (Eruhim 10, 9); however, it was somewhat eigenthümlich that after Beza 2ft, b shepherds also sold livestock. The sale of fish is very often mentioned, but this is not counted as a trade. - Other men, as mentioned, were ew, who sold eset, cattle and horses. The first two types were used to carry loads and for riding, while the latter were used for also the horse, but they were also used in the army; but in the Jewish wars the Jewish cavalry played a very small part, although it is mentioned occasionally, e.g. 1 Mack. 10, 81, 15, 41. IB, 4. 7. of the sale of horses on heaths is Ab. Sara 1, G the speech. Horses were heavily bred by Palestinian Jews, and the previous ones were not generally imported, perhaps from Egypt, as in ancient times; I found no trace of an import of Arabian horses, perhaps this race was too expensive, whereas we shall see later that I'et and camels were imported to Arabia. The mention of a sale of Büren and Löwen ib. 1, 7 belongs only to a casuistic fantasy, whereas according to Tos. Ah. sai'a c. 2 it might have happened that mau Aft'en sold, - Also of the sale of Witdpret is some Mate thought, e.g. Maaser sctieni 1, 4. 3, 11, and of commercial hunters we read Moed katau 2, 5. Patästina had "pure and impureC Witd, of that the stag, the roe deer, the fallow deer, the gazette; the "impureC was not eaten during this entire period, but could at least be passed on to the now numerous pagan

Once the Schtacht regulations had been enforced, sales of even pure Witdpret to Jews must have decreased extraordinarily. It was the same with edible birdwitd. Geese, ducks, chickens and pigeons are mentioned as tame poultry, and also the first two species may have been brought to market, but it is attested by the Ituhuern through Ab. sara 1, 6, and the sale of doves nmss even because of the dew.

iMki

104

heiiupfer eiu zieiiiiticti would have been stronger in Jerusatem. However, in the last century of the temple there was an arrangement that the taiihen for this and many other 0jjfürreqiii- sitcii could be obtained from the temple administration: but this setbst had to buy supplies of all these things first, moreover, according to Bena 29, b, the cattle were also Buy pigeons nn, after Tos. Beza c. 3 also Hdhner. berodian pigeons vergt. Note 11.

Ai^i- Artik<-I auiniati^chvn orignngeti.

Animal skins were used for sowing, sanding, wine syrup! and other very simple utensils mentioned in the Tatmud were used in large quantities. The amount of hand in it must therefore necessarily have been very significant, and even those without The purchase of sotche (fishermen, private individuals who had bought sotche for their own use, or by giving the hftuttc of the so rich sacrificial animals in tuaucbeu fatten to the priests, in others to the landlords of the mudflat drivers), could mostly also not make fietirauch of them, but niu.'iate .sell them to fatty founders who process them in Hesse, and from them directly or indirectly they came by purchase into the hands of the various Ijeder-

> The consumption of this was not even due to the country's own production, and perhaps there is already a trace of the import of hides in Ant. 1 2, 3, 4 of the prohibition of Antiochus M. to bring fats from unclean animals to Jerusatem, but in any case Tos, Berachot c. 4, shows that such hides come from

I Arabia, and attfiemeiner mentions Ab. sara 1,3 their purchase from pagans. - In Jemsatem and elsewhere, where



C Ueher aie umt aves Sonstice m tU. s^ni Arükp] s y..t>- ^^

CC Has the patriarrh F isctihaiidet tietnpben? Ungtautiticti would not be,  
spin Vprw auitter R t.tii|a had according to B me^^ia jer 5, 8 a handet in Ftaüis,  
and nafh ib i, 5 h "t(( srtion ''ctiimon bea Shif ich riactishiradet hatt, tUsgt is  
Rabbn 1, 77 dem^fettipii R tbij" and dem R EwtiinoD bir Rabbi a  
business in silk to Tyre, and as we saw above schon, after Be7.a 29, a Tos  
Ber" i 3 Atiba Shani had a significant achauk in wine, R Etisar bat Zadok a  
strong Dttvcrkauf, also R Phsii ben Asnrja drove after B batra <)1 a Handet  
Diiit^uu and Oet, and after

Tuanit 21, a gnfiien Ufa and R JorLanau /um Handet Atte Named were  
t)I am honored by reputation, and how snittteu Bie emen ehrtictien Haudetsbetrieb under  
itir dignity tiatten, if we among them a Zimmermami, a äctimiede,  
the Kauftaden einCE Triestcrs is Tob, Terumot c, tü erwihnt,

r

10"

m

I

^L gugeb

^H and

iitttir ats (iröitniidert Fasst.t'rn iteretben. Of the great multitude  
rter at the lake of Tiberias p;esatzeiieii and mariiiiite fish went  
vietteictit also into the Austand, we will see aiiftter that the  
Orifeheu seihst from the shores of the black sea and the  
Romans harvested fish from Spain. There will be mention of the  
import and sale of foreign fish in § 36 N. 50 and 51, - However,  
the fish were also used to produce many other luxury items that  
must have come into the trade. The tris mentioned in the Tatmud  
hAufig

feriffa was a fish porridge made from these fish and mixed with  
ingredients. According to Ab, sara 39, a, the entrails and rye of  
some fish were bought and used to make a food that was eaten like  
caviar: this was highly prized by (irish and Romans, and was also  
used by

Ptin. 31, 43 also prepared from fish eggs.

Nedarim 6, 4 speaks of the enjoyment of dei<sup>^</sup>, i<sup>^</sup> and murah, zir was a dip, for the preparation of which the fat, animal juice and also woth the blood of fish was used, while vmrais without Zweifet is to be combined with the Romanu miiria (Ptin. 31, 40, 43) and is used in the Talmudic language as a tasty prepared fisehtake appears, which, however, was sold without f'ish for itself; Ab. sara 34, b even speaks of a kteine ydiiffe, wetches htoB mnrais had taden. One also had a completely dduueu fish porridge, called hrtrseiaa, which, according to ib. 3ft, a was enjoyed from a cup, as Ptin. 31, 43 says of a similar one >tit hihi passetC. I speak of a cat to which a grated egg of fishB was added in the sentences.

g 34.

Raw materials and products made from them.

The wolves of the Palestinian sheep were of very high quality. iich kindness and naturally in internal traffic, and the Jews of the East Jordan, so rich in sheep, may also have given wool to the foreign country; indeed, considering that Palestinian Jews traded in FTaths and silk to Tja-us, it is very probable that

107

they also offered the excess of wotk\ witch the tienai'hhardii lands of iter Moabites and Natiataer, zit a pretieit- liable intermediate handet beniitütenC. We read of Jewish wot sellers in Ketiiu 29, fi, and of a wot market in Jerusatem Enitiin tU, ii as bett. Jud. 5, 8, 1. Very fine wools and woollen fabrics were now called mitofi or müh, presumably after the great reputation of Niite wools and woollen fabrics had spread to Palestine. Note 13: Jewish dyers in red and black are mentioned in B. kamma jer. 9, 5, and it is not doubtful that their goods were sold in the same way. ^ Mau tiatte d()rt but still a whole range of other raw materials for fabrics: Ftachs, BaumwotteCC, hemp, and, according to Menachot 39, b, the hair of camels, goats and hares. According to Kitayim 9:1 and Ncgaim 11:2, wotte was mixed with camel hair and ftachs with hemp; a mixture with baiunwotte and the hair of hares was added to the yarns. and goats is commemorated in Sifru 14.5, a; that of wool with flax was ritually forbidden. Mostly, of course, these raw materials were also woven by the Palestinian Jews: we have already mentioned a byssus factory there in earlier times, and this production must have increased aftermath, since Pauaanias (c. 174

D, Chr.) praised the fineness and the pure, tart color of the Palestinian byssus; according to B, kamiia 10, 9 the women made



and the fine lyuu walls from Scythopotis is seen Kidushin jer. 2,  
4- Mention. We now find from one  
{Haudet is not exactly shy with these diugen.

C Auiti hpndit i.ttir herefui dfi Vusiimik ti mezn 2 1 >\\uttBi.tiuren

that come from their (>ers<,hiedeni areasu"

C That one does not have to divide the Ftsctis and Bsumwntte

actiied™ have is süiwer /u gtauheii woht but seems to have beute k t m ce  
ianut /u, wogeu tiei pisihta" nui an Ftachs bei zimer yeftn nihi an  
Baumwotte /u think taC The making of the buz from Ptachs siheint da  
itasa aasdrucktRh is attested that byssus was used for the mummies and that  
the linen nature of these bindings was even reproduced in a niikro  
skopiSLtiem way with winde Da "B man in Aegyjiteii Stotfe weaved dtren  
Einschtagfuden aus Baumwolle dip kettenfaiten sitstachB waren, testifies dir  
\eg)pter Juhus PotUii 7, 7j,

ins

nanitich except itein Kchon Mitfiettipitteii only norti some Fatte of  
Ftachstianet (B. tuezi.i jer. 2, n. 5, 8) and Kdini 12, 2 the Wage  
of the Jewish vendors of the ftacbs they sold; atipr it is in  
itself ctar that atte the raw materials mentioned, as well as the  
fabrics made from them, must have been in circulation, Icti doubt,  
by the way, that many of the dress fabrics were also obtained from  
the trade "and sold here, of purple and silk fabrics this is beyond  
question, and in order not to tear up what belongs together, witt  
I am speaking here, as an exception, of the other two types of  
goods from abroad. It is true that Palestinian Jews also won some  
purple and produced woolen yarns.

dyed like fabric with it.- The mussel rh'dn-wn deepened  
according to Jonatan zti .5 Mos. 33, 19 the purple variety f'rtu'ti-t,  
and after Stbabbat 2H, a from the "leaders' hei Tyrus to Cbaifa under  
The Judun, who now live there en masse, will not have  
completely neglected to exploit this treasure. Attein viet and  
uameuttich good purple

They dug the goods heavily, the Tyrians excelled in this above  
all else, and it would be even more likely that the shells they  
extracted would be sold to them. But in any case

Purpurstotte , mostly or exclusively from Tyre, in the Palestinian  
handet, and Ketim 29, 4 states explicitly that Palestinian Jews sold  
purple products, the better kinds on the scales, vergt. also the  
Kitayim 9, 9. B. mezia 2, 1 mentioned cords and "tongues" of purple  
as well as the biblical commandment, which is observed at least  
fteissig, to put on the corners of the overworls

It is difficult to decide whether the Jews banned a kind of silk, or whether a sotche is to be understood under mençM Ezcch. tü, 10. 13 is difficult to decide. But under the Ptolemæans, silk was an important article of the Alexandrian caudery, and at least from them, if not more directly, silk fabrics must have come to Palestine. According to Midrash Kohet 88, b In later times, some silk was found in the Gittæan city of Gishata,

C Uctir the Fartic  
 Surrogate s. Note  
 14

109

;u, but because of the great uncertainty of the message and the very low quantity and quality of this product, we can completely refrain from doing so. However, in patä-stina Seideiiwaaren from three quite different stoft'en, vergt. hier-über Note 15. die vom Gespinnist der Beidenraupe, actürahn ge- Although silk was used, it was only used in very small quantities, if unmixed, as the witnesses of unmixed silk were still being weighed out with goddess at the time of Emperor Aurelian.

Viet wohlfelter was katach, the raw material of which cannot be specified with certainty, but there is some evidence that it was obtained on the coast of Cü-sarea and in the Persian Gulf from small shells, like the many different types of shell silk in the Mediterranean. The price between the two seems to have been sericon, a silk-like fabric made from a raw material that was obtained in the land of the Serians, but later also in other regions like cotton; the product was probably from this tree silk were much more widespread than the former, and it seems that the term sericum was therefore also applied to them, as the Greeks and Romans did at any rate, so that some of the things reported about sericum also came from them, so z. e.g. the mention Tos. Negaim c. 5 of a robe whose elevator Sericum, which was a tag of Wotte, also vice versa, and that one said for tiatbseiden -hatbserisch., for ganzseiden "ganzserisch", wette designations even ats semisericum and hotoserkon

in Shabbat jer. 6, 4 and Midrash Kohet 84, c. The all-silk fabrics were of one color, but of various colors; whereas the woven silk fabrics were of many kinds, and as we have said, the weave was of other fabrics.

ats of the day of the lock, batd were the two fabrics metirt, batd endtich were these fabrics striped by fabric and color. These silks

of such a simple kind, but also the many fine wott-

the various types of purple, were further enhanced by the fact that, depending on their intended use, they were not only decorated with interwoven or embroidered ornaments, but also with borders of silk, goddess, purple and crimson (cf. Shabbat jer. 6, 4 and Sifra 146, b). The expression

U

^Bsai'tiiii 57, a, a notable h "ptimüthiger priest has wi'h his hands in urhiraïm for an attar service, is woht  
■tos untenk and on silk handsctiutie. Of course  
Now it is clear from the information provided here and in Note 15 that the  
■Citing the fact that the Palestinian Jews of that time had the aforementionedu  
■ used silk fabrics, atso bought and sold; there were  
[ but also already p. 105 two Palestinian eighteenth-century writers were mentioned, which were handet in silk to Tyre, and also from B. kaninia  
,jer. 6, 7. B. mezia jer. 4, 2 can be seen in the silk handet there. The note in question also states that before the destruction of Jerusatem there were eighty weavers in the town of Migdat-Zeboim who had silk (or "two colors of silk") 1 cloth, and that there were "eighty" people in the town of Sichtn who had silk garments; whether the news is not greatly exaggerated is, of course, another matter.

m Kti^idmigsstücke.

■ Jewish Kteiderhitudter in Patastina are mentioned in Kitayim 9, 5 and MoS- katan 2, 5. The Kteiderhandet iusm there must have been very ^'-- - ^ interpretative, because it is first mentioned according to Job. 19, 23 ui^3r^ Sebaehim 88, a, that one (> -(.

walls were not made of woven fabrics, but were woven entirely and, if necessary, woven behind them by means of a

Then, after that, to urtheiteu that I have never found any i tti mu

1 nu

sale of clothing fabrics, it must have been much ftbtic "C\_ -ter to buy finished pieces of clothing; in the end it is

It is astonishing how many types of defense pieces are mentioned in Bi 1-^yJ, Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash. Most of the pieces of defense of this later period have the same names, according to which very many of them also belong to the - "Jer

were sold to the pagan Kteiderhaußtern. We are also not fit to consider this htos from their foreign names

first, in § 36 N. Afi - HH a series of fabrics will be listed, the importation of which from abroad has been impressively attested; furthermore, we have already mentioned silk and purple fabrics, but it seems to me that many of these fabrics were already woven in the hand as ready-made garments, and that they were woven in the hand for their form. How

precious goods, which were, however, ttegentticti, can be taken from fotgeudeu Nachrichten. According to B. batra 9, 7, a Jewish woman bequeathed her daughter a keitina (presumably a mantel of fine wool) of twelve mines, i.e. 732 marks in value; according to Joraa

3, 7 one had to the official dress of the high priest in the morning of the Day of Atonement, Petusian linen, used for the evening Indian, worth 1200 res]). 800 denarii (732 res)).

488 marks), according to others, both had cost even ujn times more; and according to Gittin 59, a "Rabbi" had once received four different pieces (of clothing, other linen) as a gift from a rich fellow dove, which were so fine that two of them took up the space of other nuts, the other two that of other pistachios. The Babylonian carpet in front of the entrance to the Herodian temple, whose marvelous embroidery is described in Jud. Jud. 5, 5, 4; but without doubt, at least at the time of the Herodians of sotchen and similar baby-tonic manufactures costly as well as wohlfelte to Patästina. - Some of the more distant news we have received about the then Kteiderhandet may find a place here, even if they are only minor. In view of the aforementioned Biblical prohibition on wearing a mixture of wotte and ftachs, Kitayim 9, 7 lists four wotten pieces of clothing with foreign names, before their use should be examined to determine whether Ftachs should not be added

C The Angabc Toe. Joma c. 1 and Joma jer. 3, (i, that the hotie priest ■Jiachmaet a loaned coat worth one hundred mines (6100 Marks), Etieser Vien CLaraanin would have had one of doppett tiotiera prices, certainly contains an a.rge "Dehertreibnng; but natiirhch also her something is ZQ underlying, and this

>i "ich is vouched for by the addition that the latter had not been funf^iren tassen wotten, weil er wegen der anaaerordenttichen Feinheit des Gewebs "Vrie nackt in ihm aiaaah.

is, (toch uddi R. Jona witre ities bei sotchen iinnothig, die vdu iter coast Utier über See kamcu , iteiin dort hätte itian hierzu uur Frequently; the Jerushahui, however, does not allow this inetir for his siiater time, in wetcher überatt Ftachs is gcbaiiet, furthermore IJ. mezia 51, b the Babytoui R. Papa says, the Zidra-sellersCC received from the Aufertigem of these Kteidungsstücke coustaut four Traceut for their trouble, and the Zuaaimnenhang there speaks more for than against the view that he also assumed the same agent relationship for Patastina, even if not exactly at the same rate.

It should also be noted here that some domestic and foreign fabrics, which are used for other purposes than were used for clothing, of course, in the handet; for example, we read Nidda 20, a of tablecloths imported seaward, Beza 22, b and Ketubot 68, a of other tablecloths. Kitajini 9, 3 of itaufttücheru, book huts and bath sheets, uft also of bed linen and so on.

Sehmitcksacheu, Prnnkgeräthe, weapons.

4

Jewelry from Gotd, Sitber and other types, niimeutticti of women, are mentioned in Shabbat ö, 1. 3. 9. Sota 9, 14 and in the two Tatmuden to atten these Stetten as well as Ketiin' 11, 8 and elsewhere. Some of them are known to us, such as forehead pots, head rings, necklaces, rings, victory rings, ear and nose rings, nose bags, foreign hair, the nature of some of them is doubtful; and some of them will have been of domestic manufacture, while others were of foreign workmanship, but they were of course all household objects. The same is true of ornamental vessels and some other local councils, which could not have been lacking in the times before the destruction of Jerusatem; after that

-C Rftsctii erktärt die.zidra für ein Kteid aus Hanf, doch, iiu Ärabiactieo bedeutet zLdar eiu Uuterkkid; nichts ist hierüber aus der Augabc deasetbeo U. Papa Moed katan 27, b to infer that a zirda (as here the I>es "rt now is) acboQ fiii' could have a denarius.

at least wealthy Gentiles must have bought Sitbergeräth there, since the Tatmud again mentions that Jews were involved in the purchase of (jrutaot, which mostly meant damaged and otherwise intentionally broken down things from EdetmetattC. Some of the things that actually belong in this article, but are exceptionally included in the portirt, such as perts, gemstones, etc., will be discussed in § 36. - But a few words about weapons may have their place here, since already in Shabbat 6:4 the view has penetrated that they are an adornment of men; and we may here-even suggested that they were worn more often than was necessary. Weapons of various kinds are ib. 6, 2. 4. Ketim 11, 8. 13, 1. 16, 8 and otherwise mentioned, and those of large and small The history of these centuries is so rich in battles that monkeys must have been one of the most sought-after and common handicrafts. Without a doubt, masses of them were not only made at home, but also obtained from abroad; and they must not have been authentic, because according to Dio Cassius 69, 12, under Hadrian the Jews had to make weapons for the Romans as tribute. The sale of weapons is mentioned in Ab. sara 15, b.

#### Writing materials.

These were then so different from our present ones that to speak of them, though of course only as far as is necessary for our purpose, requires some space, and gteichwoht I must refer some of this to Note 17. With the exception of of very set stones, Attes was placed on prepared ttier-skins or on a preparation of the papyrus plant or written in wax. The animal skins were processed quite crudely for this purpose in the early period, and three primitive processing methods were continued after Shabbat 79, even then,

C Of jiutisction Gotdsctimiedcn speaks Sctiabbat 1215, a. Ab. sara 53, a, of Jewish god- and sittersmiths tiiccnrim 8, 8. 15. mezia 215, b. Beza jer. 4, 3, but only tiypothetically, whereas in Atexandria Succa 51, b thatsächticti is told of god- and sitbersmiths.

ti was germinated itas eiKeuttictie parchment and avis its kteiuasiatisctiea Krfiadiingsorte as from Atesaudrieu. But it happened from ita onwards that those more difficult types of parchment were no longer used for medicinal purposes, and they were even forbidden to do so; indeed, one of them, called Diphthera, and patimpsests of papyrus were avoided according to Gittin 2, 4

The Jews did not add falsifications to attentive documents of patrimonial importance or where the authentic wording was otherwise important. However, the Palestinian Jews must have been familiar with the production of genuine parchment.

.have exercised and eiuigerraaasseu, since the post-maternal The scribes decreed that only a parchment made especially for this purpose should be used.

The papyrus writing material was almost exclusively in civil use among the Palestinian Jews of that time, samples of which are collected in the aforementioned note 2nsamttC. Finally, writing in wax is known to have consisted of covering a tablet (pinai Ketmi 24, 7) with wax and then etching the writing into the tablet by means of a giifi'et; Shabbat 12, 4 and Abot 3, 16 show that such tablets were joined at the sides and could thus be written together. Some colored inks were also known, but in common use was the black one, in three types: from biblical times, iteio, a type of ink which, according to Shabbat 1, 5, had to be soaked and made liquid before use; presumably this helped two other inks, a gum-based ink and one made of copper vitriol (Cbatkanthon), to gain entry and spread. - On parchment and Papyrus mau wrote with a reed, which according to ib. 8, 5 was not indigenous; a special knife was used to sharpen it and for other small tasks in writing; according to Tos. Ketim 3, 7, the reed and knife were from Gtas, but it is not stated how mau should think of this.

The handle for writing in wax was usually made of iron and

C Vou other pntüstiiiiifictien Vern-cnitiu]g<>[i dpa t'iipjriiB nird in g 38i N. 112 the speech so in.

115

at the upper end so that it could be used to replace the written material as required (Ähabbat jer. 8, ö).

Nim was also shown in Note 17 that damats not exactly a lot, but at least to a respectable extent



also have been in hand, those of domestic origin as well as those from abroad. The following were not of the latter kind: the better parchment, the Papyrus preparation, the Dejö ink and the two inks made of gum and Chatkanth or else

These materials were used for their preparation, including writing tubes and knives, as often as these were made of Gtas. The papyrus plant also grew

in Palestine, especially in Sharon, but not much, and certainly their processing was not understood enough, so that the native paper, if it ever existed, was not very much affected by

would have been displaced by the artful Sg)'litisben. Ifeberhaupt , rücksichttich of the mentioned things like the vieten , wetche

ttieits in § 36 ats importirt ttieits, tbeits can only be interpreted summarily, it should be noted here that a craftsmanship of the Jiatästiuische Jews is only for very few Fabri kate auszuuehnien, so that for the attermeiste objects iu Miachna and Tatmud, which required a good technique, could be produced by foreign manufacturers, from whom they could be obtained either exclusively or better and more beautifully ^ Israel's creativity belonged to a different field, that of religion.

Sentences.C

[■ Several types of patastina were used in the patastina of the time

I Boiling set, namely 1) the dead sea in such a way that after the almost every spring againhotendpn ttjA astreten dessetben over its shores viet of its immensely sat/-

!■ hattigeii water remains in recesses unit verduu.'^tct ;

2) the one dug on its southwestern shore at a mighty set- herge, wetches but seems without previous dissolution,

' To the Aitiket vprgt. Note 18.

116

but btos to have come into the handet ground up. The "sentence of Sodom" was understood to mean both types, and the Arabs of today still spread it over the whole of Sftia; 3) the im- The first of these was the Ostrakine set on the north coast of Egypt. Also known 4) under the name sat conditus was a set that was mixed with fish guts and used to be obtained from the Gentiles themselves; however, as it was often the case that they used "unclean" fish for this purpose, it was disputed for some time whether the white or the black variety had this forbidden addition, and this mixture was only enjoyed if it came from a reliable Jewish source. There were other types of a "spiced sentence", but nothing is reported of their use in Palestine.

Still different things.

Patästina won in this later period, to medicines such as for the preparation of pitch, useful and even beneficial resins from the trees of several genera, namely from the mastic and the terebinth; and that Ptin. 14, 25 highly praises the Judean resin, vouches for the fact that it was also used. - Therefore, according to ib. 28, 23 the patästinian; this pitch was extracted on the dead sea in large bulkheads, and was used, among other things, for the covering of vehicles, for medicinal purposes, and, according to Strabo 16, for the embalming of the dead. It was not  
brought to Egypt, but even to Greece and Italy.  
- Furthermore, nathan had several types of dyes, both intrinsic and imported, and at least the latter must have been in his hand. However, it is not possible to go into this in more detail, as there is still a lack of preliminary work on it; I will mention the dyeing car-kum, which according to Berachot jer. 2, 8, it was probably indigenous, but without deciding whether it meant crocum or curcuma. - Furthermore, many bathing sponges grow in the gulf of Acco, of which a related species covers the shore there, and they must have gone not only into the interior but also into the exterior."

117

as it happens now from Chaifa, it even seems (vergt. note 19) that the ancient Greeks used these sponges with the name 'tög' given to it by the Phoenicians. The baths sponges of the Syrian coast were similar to those of Smyrna and now for the best. - In Talmudian literature, the term "jcaddär", the maker and seller of pots and other clay utensils, as well as Chagiga 3, ö of a trade in these utensils from place to place. However, its sale must not have been restricted to the potter, but must have become a branch of the handet, for according to Shahbat 120, b. B. mezia 74, a, the thong dishes of two villages mentioned there were widely praised, and according to B. mezia 5, 7, contracts were even concluded in advance for the delivery of such utensils. Nitron tableware was also imported from Egypt, and Pataestina had a less good nitron, namely that of Antipatris (Nidda 62, a), from which gteichfatts tableware was made.

I hereby close the list of those trade articles in Palestine at that time which consisted of domestic products and manufactures.

§ 3C5.

The same is true for the use and thus also the trade of the Palestinian Jews at that time. Quite a few of these had to be included in the domestic ones so as not to separate the related too much, but for the sake of clarity they should also be listed here very briefly. It

Now very many products and manufactures are recognized in our quotations as foreign by the appended name of a country or place, some also by the addition that they were purchased by sea or from the coast; and of very many others, which are known without any express designation of their foreign origin, the name of the country or place is not mentioned.

dian origin are mentioned, this in itself is indisputable. But in the first as well as in the last cup there are numerous articles which, for one reason or another, cannot be assumed to be

r

118

were in the Palestinian handet, and of still others I was in two minds. After sifting through the same from this point of view, where free error is very human, I shall therefore first enumerate those Austro-Hungarian articles whose naturalization in the market of Palestine seems certain, and give some careful remarks on them in Note 20; then, separately from them, to bring together those which, in the said view, are doubtful, and to give the various reasons for their doubtfulness in note 21, but those which, in my opinion, are to be excluded altogether, to the Submit the urgency of further research iu Note 22.

The t'ütgeudeu seem to me to be the only products and manufactures that have actually been in Palestinian hands,

1. Wheat from Atexandria, vergt. p. 91, where already ver-mnthe is that it was freely introduced there only in years of fallow and bad growth.

2. A. Egyptian beans Nedarim 7, 1 and elsewhere often; with The Greeks called this Itobno "oio}i "a/a. and also under this name it appears to be Demaj jer. 2, 1 and Erutiin jer. 3, i also appear to occur. Its great usefulness was already mentioned on p. 92. Eede, and there it was also proved that it was cuttivirt in Patästina gteichfatts ; but that it was also introduced from it is in itself probable, besides a,ber I would not otherwise know to erktären that according to Kitajim jer. 8, 4 in Patästina

drinking cups were made from the Egyptian beans: attein sotche  
was made htos from the large leaves of the pttauze. .^H

3. Egyptian lentils Maas red 5, 8. a^M

' i. The citic gris Negaim 6, 1; the fear there

of its size is very dark, but it is difficult to take it in the  
usual sense of groats.

5. Ammonite wine synedrine 106, a.

6. Ab. sara 30, a is eareia mentioned ats a sweet wine that  
comes from the province of Asia: it is carvnum, a must boiled  
down to two thirds.

7. A sweet artificial wine called ISaragwasser, ib. 30, a.

119

8. >Frozen white from the LibaiKintaiutschafft Seiiir,  
after Succa 12. a atmtich deu Feigeiibroden, what !<ebr dunket ktingt.

9. Idumii vinegar t'esactiim 3, 1; the Jeruachatmi  
This identifies it with has'tm from the landscape of Darom, and  
says that it is made from wine by adding barley.

10. Granatapfet of Bedau in Samarieß Orta 3, 7.

11. Unripe dates from Tobicne in the northeast  
Pat.1- stina's Erubin 28, b.

12. Damascene Pftaunioii Berachot 39, a. B. kanima  
116, b, they are also mentioned in I'tin. 15, 12.

13. Pistacieii Deinaj jer. Ü, 1. Maaacrüt jer. 1, 2. gittiu  
ö9, a; according to the first stette they did not grow in  
Palestine, but according to Ptin. 13, 10 in Syria.

14. Cretan Aepfet MenaL-bot 28, bC and 63, a.

15. Greek Baioten ib. 63, a, chestnuts, vietteicht  
it may be forgotten that the Greeks eat "eubäische Nüsse" hi.

16. Me d i s c h e H e n d c o k e n Krubin 28 , a , angebtich  
Kirschen.CC

17. Fig bread from Bozra B. niesiia jer. 2, 1.

18. Very tasty onions from Askaton Ptin. ti), 32.

19. Knobtauch of Baatbek Maaserot 5, 8.

20. "Spice of Antioch" Ketubot 67, a.

21 - 27 The Palestinian use of incense,  
Myrrh, atoe, cassia, nard, zinimt and costuni was  
already discussed on p. 98 U.W., but see also note 20. Meanwhile

28. Not only did these substances go to notiira in Palestine to  
be prepared into oetes and satins, but the finished  
preparations from them also went there, especially from  
Aestesandria and Antioch.

39. Musk, vergt. S. 99.

30. Das Kunstöt fottatum, vergt. stillmats p. 99 and note 20.

- The statement there that ihuen the caßorim of the Tempet teuchters ütui-  
ticti may be related to the fact that the Tibetan caftor is best understood as  
Crete.

Cœ What Sachs has taught and said about this in his -Beitrügen- 1, 142  
is not enough.

120

31. Fitou (yiAAov), a vegetarian preparation which women wore in a  
small capsule on their hats, believing that it would have a  
medicinal effect; see also note 20.

32. Pepper is often mentioned in Shabbat 6:5 and elsewhere. That  
According to Joma 81, b and Midrash Kohetet 88, b, it also grew  
in Palestine does not need to be refuted. Also, according to  
Erubin 28, b, the Palestinians did not have any pepper at all  
in the past, and even considerably later the  
Peppercorns still toothed ("borrow me 100 peppercorns" B. mezia  
75, a); but Ab. sara jer. 1, 4 one and two pounds of pepper ats  
punishment. Beza 2, 8 mentions a pepper meal, "Pfeft'er dust"  
(crushed pepper) Sctiabbat 50, b. A little story about the pepper  
handet in Jerusatem, but in Munchausen's manner, is found in Midrash  
Echa 59, a. According to Megitta 7, b, Jehovah sent a sack of  
sanghit (of which sogteich) as a Purim gift and  
a cup of tanget pepper, over tetzteren vergt. Ptin. 12, 14.

according to Aruch spice hotz from Sin, similar to Zimmtich, vergt. also note 20.

35. Theriak Shabbat 109, b, a mixture of countless ingredients that was used as an antidote.

36. A lat- werge Joma 81, b., which came from the media and is called MmZeifa.

37. Babylonian cutach Pesachim 3, 1, made from moldy bread and mitch, to which, according to ib. 42, a, that some was added to prepare a dip from it; that it was introduced or imitated in Palestine is shown by Shabbat 145, b.

38. Medisches schechar Pesachim 3, 1, an intoxicating drink.

39. The Egyptian Zythos ib., a kind of barley wine, the best was prepared in Petusium. Furthermore

40. "Sheep of Kedar" Beza jer. 2, 4.

41. S. 106 it became very probable to us that from Moab and from Nabataea Wotte came into the Palestinian Zwischenhandet, as well as >^

121

42. P. 103 that even now horses were still being obtained from Egypt.

43. Cameos from Arabia Ketubot 67, a, as still now whose thousands are brought to Syria every year by Bedouins.

44. The fact that Eset was also introduced from there is B. mezia jer. 2, 5 cannot be proved with certainty, but in itself seems to be true.

45. The Tibyan Eset was for sale in Babytonia after Shabbat 51, b, so it must have been brought to Palestine.

46. Etephants, vergt. Kitayim 8, 6 Menachot 69, a.

47. Etfenbein, requires no proof, but can be bett. Jud. 7, 5, 5 can be read.

49. peacocks B. kamnia 55, a. Succa jer. 3, 6.

50. An Egyptian species of fish that was introduced in tons, Machsirin 6, 3. Levysohn's attempt in his Zootogie des Tadmuds p. 273 to determine this species of fish must be regarded as a failure.

51. The Spanish Cotias ib. and Shabbat 22, 2, a  
A kind of tuna, according to Levysohn the mackerel; also according to Ptin. 32, 53 the cotias was a Spanish fish.

52. According to Ab. sara 39, a, deliciously prepared fish entrails went from Petusium to Caesarea.

53. After ib. sotche also went there from Spain.

54. This includes various nmrais, one tasty (cf. p. 106 above), often came from Spain, according to Kabba 2, 9, and the cargo of murai may also have come from there, with wetcher to Ab. sara 34, b a ship came to Acco.

55. Egyptian yarn is already mentioned in Prov. 7, 16, and that it was made into colorful blankets in Palestine by name; however, it is difficult to imagine that the importation of this material would have gone unnoticed in the more complex trade connections of this later period.

56. and 57. byssus from Petusium and from India; from their preciousness was already p. 111 the t\ede, and we read in Joma 3, 7 btos of a festive official decision of the High Court.

r

132

priests from them, but wenissteufi in the Herodian period

He was probably the only patient who wore these boots.

öK, Also röiiiisehes linen, of high price, is Ctiiiittin 84, b erwahut.

59. that other clothing fabrics, nauientticL aas  
Wotte and Baumwotte, were introduced, is also without proof

fi0- p. 107 it has been shown that the hair of ca- meetea,  
hares and goats is too wide for the tissues  
without a doubt, thatetbe had previously been prSiarized for this and so  
introduced by the Austände.

61. An Arabic defense piece called i/tmed,C Ketini  
29, 1.

62. The red rüiuische c/j tw("^(f Jtoed katan 23, a, uacti Rascht  
ein Hemd, was aber in den dortigen Zusammenhang nicht recht past,  
auch wenn man dabei au die römisi^he cami^ia wott; die arabische  
vhamUa war nach Freytag ein viereckiges Kteidungsstück oder ein  
Mantet,

63. Four pieces of chicken defense, wetche Kitajini  
, 7 are expressly referred to as wide imports,

64. According to p. H0 and note tö, however, numerous  
other pieces of defense must have been obtained from  
abroad.

65. Also according to p. 111 and 112 Tissue for other  
ats carpets, tablecloths and dergt., vergt. also what is said in  
note 16 about otairm.

66. Sandaten of Laodicea Ketini 26, t, but ni Izn

decide which Laodicea is meant s

67. Fats were also introduced to Tos. Berachot v. 4 ans  
.\rabia were imported.

68. Purpurwaare aus Phonizien in mehrfachen Purpurarteu.  
vergt, p. 108, neben dem in Note 14 erörterte Purpursun "ogat  
Jcata-itan.  
C Au(0

I

I^ I

1 t'rej'tiig's arabisctiüü] LesicoD is itassetbc iiiii'aet'Citirt.

^^^H



69. Three types of silk, vergt. S. 108 n, w.

Oh herein the agbon or aithoti of Caesarea, presumed according to note 15 a silk-like fabric, is difficult to decide.

70-76. six types of metate; Gotd, Sither, copper, iron, Tin and lead, as well as a mixture of the two under the name fiaaz (white lead) were used in Palestine (vergt. note 20) and to a limited extent also for processing, so they must have been imported unprocessed. Attein

77. To a much greater extent, they seem to have already been processed into goods from the country, and with Exclusion of products from Edetmetatt, which are particularly The almost innumerable utensils and tools made of other metal, which appear in some parts of the Mishnah and Tosifta, are summarized here in a single number, since it cannot be determined which of them were of foreign origin, although it can hardly be doubted that they made up the majority of them. Two of them, whose foreign origin is explicitly attested, I would like to mention in particular, namely

78. Arabic Keaset Ketim 5, 10. Menachot 5, 9, and

79. Sidonian bowls Ketim 4, 3, Tos. Ketim-3, 7, presupposes that they were from Metatt, otherwise they would only be listed later.

80. Vietertei jewels from Gotd and Sitber, vergt. S. 112.

81. Atexandrinic Pokate Menachot 28, b.

82. Many other objects of art and splendor must have been obtained from Atexandria.

According to Joma 38, a the doors of a tenipet- portate were there, as well as presumably the üdrautis (water-orget) of Arachin 10, b and the ktepsydra (water-clock) of Rahha 1, 49, Those doors must have been made of the precious metate mixture which was called Corinthian ore.

- The term >kotonitifi(;tie3 ore" was rightly used there by SachB 1, 94 eo aufgcfaR)<t, uur he would have uidit ttberscheu sotten that it bett. Jiut. 5, 5, 3 BDsdrückicti stands.

Josephus vita § 13 speaks of candlesticks in Tiberias from this Metatt.

83. Perten, and may it be permitted to receive from them a Several with ingredients. These were obtained on the coasts of Ceyton and the Near East, and in even greater quantities in the Persian Sea, where there is now even a special caravanserai for the Pertenhandet in the port city of Avat on the island of Bahrain.

has; a small yield also deepens the Red Sea. After Rosh Hashanah 23, a, the Persians brought Perts to the market, initially woht to Babytonren, and it may also be woht to put it there when Ketubot 40, a and elsewhere speak of sktaven, which they knew how to kill. But speaks

B. kamma jer. 4, 1 of Pertenhandet by Jews, to which Matth. 13, 45 can be compared, and Bicurim jer. 3, 3 it is said of a Simon bar Wa that he understood Perten very well,

but had no bread. According to Arachin 6, 5, better prices had been obtained for them in large cities; and according to B. mezia 4, 9 and the Jerushatmi, a day's bread had to be rejected for overpricing, since the panning for pond-like ones did not allow an estimate of their price. Also mentioned

Ketim 17, 15 sticks that were raised to accommodate Perten; they must have been used in order to evade the ridicule of the setben. They were not worn btos in cords (ib. 11, 8), but also as trimmings, and Shabbat jer. 6, 1 speaks of a pertentatz on a silken garment. Compare note 20.

84. Edetsteine, vergt. Ketim 11, 8. 29, 5. A Jewish jewel dealer of unusual preciousness is Kiddushin jer. 1, 7.

85. Koratten (ahnug, see also note 20). Ketim 13, 6 speaks of metathened victory rings, whose seal was of Atmug, and of Atmug rings with a metathened seal; naturally, however, other ornaments were also made from them and came into the trade. The Red Sea and the naturalist Ehrenberg has spoken with delight of the splendor of thesetben on the bottom of this very sea, also Rosh haschana 23, a two Aramaic ports where they were brought; gteichwoht the

Corattenarbeiteii in Patästina aus [Iciii Westen Kokommeu, denn gerade die Edetkoratte ist an den Küsten von Itatien, At^iei' und Tunis zu Hause.

86. The literature on Gtaswaareii contains a wealth of information, and it will be permissible to expand on this. I will only begin by saying that the well-known legend of how the Phoenicians quite accidentally came upon the preparation of gtase.

In recent times, it has already been found to be fundamentally wrong, even at a degree of heat such as the alleged advantage the Gtassand could not yet have produced it. However, it is true without a doubt that gas preparation is a Phoenician invention, but it was now also practised in Alexandria and Rome, presumably even, to a very modest extent, by Jews.

Gtassand famous Gtaitic fiitaschen Betus lived in considerable numbers, since Shahbat jer. 7 , 2 of the Gtasbtasen by Jews and Ketim 8, 9 speaks of ovens for the preparation of gas; most of the gas in Palestine must have come from Tyre, Sarepta and Atexandria. Now Tos. Nidda c. 9 mentions colored and white Gtas, the latter in the poor people's field; Shebiit also remembers the colored Gtas. 4, 1. That the white gas was very expensive is evident from Chuttiu 84, 1) and Eerachot 31, a; but from the color attain the immense difference in the price of the gas goods, which I will show in the second contribution, can by no means be explained, for even utensils of this kind were very expensive.

We will find examples of "crystatthette" Gtase there. What is striking, however, is the large number and, in part, the extraordinary size of the objects made of Gtas mentioned in the Tatmndian literature, such as Ketim 30, 1 - 4 a table, large, medium-sized and stone shaft sets, mirrors, spoons, cups, large and medium-sized pockets together with small bags, as well as a difficult to determine device afarctios: ib 11, 8 cords of Gtasparten; Tos. Ketim ,S, 7 in addition to several boxes of various kinds already mentioned here, also thnrm-like C; large cups, leuctite, bed, stnht, bench, sesset,

C The stmstign Attorttiiim wiissfo oitci' tiitu-ttc aogaiC  
hotten QtaBobetiskeu.

r  
I

126

Cradle, cutter, sctireitiermesserctieii , weights, as well as four other devices, again of a heavy-duty nature: endtich  
Tob, Mikwaot c. 5 a gutter of Gtas. It seems, however, that for some of the listed properties Gtas was only used in part. B.  
kanima 31, a., refers to Jewish Gtashaudter.

It is mentioned that according to ib. 29, 6 and B. batra 89, a the goods were sold on the scales, i.e. by weight. That Gtassand was exported to Atexandrieu for processing. we read Strabo 16.

87. fieritthe with an overlay of Konia (vgt. Sachs 2, 199), gtasirte Thongefäß in schwarzer, weißer und grüner Farbe, Pesachim 30, b.

88. The device "from the Seetitnderus with the epithet aksfiJf/hii Gbagiga 2(t, b, si0uui Biixtorf erblickte therein ^vhxot. atsii Hiitz- geritthe, which also fits completely into the Ziisainnientmug.

89. The hitituiit of Askaton Ketim 13, 7, also a wooden device with a hook.

90. The aarix of Askaton ib. 23, 2, anijehtich a höt-zernes Kummet.

91. The habytouischo t-int tü'tini Ifi. 1, a wooden bowl.

92. Aegyptische basket (kefifa) Sota 2, 1. -

93. Egyptian baskets (keßsrha) Tehut-jrtm 4. 2; according to Otio tot 5, G they must be very large gcwes™.

94. Egyptian ropes Sota 1. fi. from t'atmeu fibers according to Enibin 58, a.

95. A kteiner Arab tank (diza) Ketim 24. i.

96. It has already been mentioned on p. 113 that all kinds of weapons must have been introduced by the foreigners. But even more deserving

97. Indian iron in blocks, from which shafts are made. were made from Ab. sara Ifj, a; aiu'h the Arabs knew it, and called a sword made from it muhadinad.

98. Set of Sodom Kt;ritut 6. a and fifter, after S, 115 venuuthlich of zweiertei Art,

It was not btos formed into ttiongerathen, but also unworked to Patästina, where it became a laniie um! to ai'zneüichen purposes; riiniiis handoU. ;:5I.4() wetir .iiisfidii'tii'ti by him.

101. ciinotia shabbat 9, 5, a type of cide from the cycbiitic inset cimotus , which, like gteichfatts the fotgende artiiict, was used to clean the cide.

102 Aschteg ib., a soap or lye made from the ashes of the gteichnamigen Pftanze; also in Patastina there were several Seifen-pftanzen, but these wini Schahbat 90, a ausdrücktich ats (iberseeisch bezeichnet, vergt. Wiesner Schntien to the habyt. Tatmud 2, 183.

103. nffi, naphtha, shahbut 2, 2, an earth oil, from whose Sell .Toma 38, b speaks. According to ib. jer. 2, 1 one had white and black, that the latter was inflammable; and therefore a Boraita Shabbat 26, a, recommends never to burn it.

104-111. Among the p. 113 etc. mentioned writing requisites, we found seven that came from the outland; and far among them was the rubber for an ink, so that I do not give the atexandrine gum, which, according to Shahhat 110, was used for medicinal purposes, a bespecial number, since both were slightly identical; but the but the sarnich (auripigment) discussed in note 17 must be added to a godd-colored ink and other uses.

112. According to Ptin. 13, 22 even ships, as well as seget, mats, clothes, blankets and ropes at their base. From this it becomes ktärtich, that Sota 49, b a Trauhimmet, ib. jer. 9, 15 Kteider, Ketim 17, 15 Beutet, ib. 17, 3 Basketwork, ib. 2, 5, papyrus setters occur; but among the latter one has woht after Tos. Ketim 1. 7 barrels covered with papyrus btos. The extent to which these things may have been made from the local papyrus cannot, of course, be estimated, but there is no doubt that some of them were obtained from Egypt.

r

I  
I

113. According to Tos. Beractiot c. 4, uranium was also imported from Arabia. According to Schabtm 20, b it was the abbot'att of pitch, and was used for lighting, whereas Schwarz indentified it with at-t<atran, deui resins of the Zinuoberbanmes.

114-. Marble and works thereof. According to Shekatim 6:4 sotten actit Marmortische im Tempet seiu gewesen, aber vou sotchen auch zu wetttlichem Gebrauch ist Synedriu jcr. tÜ, 1 und Tos. Schebiit c. 6, as well as Ketim 22, 1 of a table and tripod (dctptiira), which were covered with marble, Patastina had no marble, it was obtained from Arabia, and probably was the itersettie white marble, which according to hett. Jud. 5, 5, 2. aut. 1, 21, 3, 5 Herod used for the temple and for some of his other magnificent buildings; a further itt>er itm will follow in § 54.

11.5 Likewise, the Satbfta.schchen vou Atabaster (vergt. Matth. 26, 7. Marc. 14, 3) in material as well as work.

ttti. Hadrian's Tbon device Ab. sara 2. 3, the explanation of which in ib. 32, a appears inadequate.

117. According to Ketim 17, 14 Tos. Ketim 2, 6 one had 'over-drew "new" ostrich eggs, .vietteicht to drinking vessels, vergt. Ptin. tÜ, 1.

118. Unfortunately, B. mezia 4, 12 states that sktaves also came into the Palestinian handet, naturally foreign ones, and according to Berachot 58, b, blacks were among them. Most of the sktaves did not go to itom inut Itatia at all, as they had received a major part of their enormous demand for them from Syria.

However, at the beginning of this presentation it was said that I of a fair number of other articles still mentioned in the actual literature, mctu' or less in doubt as to whether they belong in this paragraph, which should include only those that were both of foreign origin and in the Palestinian handet, while of those batd the first, batd the second of these two properties is questionable. They are^

1. Kurdish wheat Pesactiim 7, 1.

2. A black wine B. batra 97, b.

4. Cider Tos. Ab. sara c. b.
5. Grasshoppers ib.  
ti. Capers ib.
7. Fruit and wine from Rome Demaj jer. 2, 1.
8. Aramaic Dattetn Sctiabbat 29, a.
9. Sugar factory Beza jer. 1, 9.
10. Persian Zwiebetu Shabbat H0, b.
11. Cows from Atexandria Bechorot 4, 4.
12. Cheese from Bet-uneiku Ab. sara 2, 4.
13. Kik-0et Shabbat 2, 1.
14. Gatban Keritut 6, a and Hoaiggatban.
15. Mitesian tissues.

It may be repeated here that a brief note is given in note 21 on almost all of these dubious articles; and that anyone interested in researching this subject can find in note 22 which articles I have completely excluded from this list and why I have felt compelled to do so.

If one now considers that in addition to the list in § 29 - 36 of glued products and manufactures 78, but possibly 87, and of foreign 118 were in the trade, and that under of the 15 remaining ones, of which this seemed doubtful to me, and among the numerous ones, of which I felt I had to deny it, there may still be a good number of articles whose elimination was too strict; furthermore, that with ihi'er compilation from the angles of the tatmudischeo Literature have overlooked some without doubt, and many because of their to minor mercantitic meaning; finally, that certainly not one of the articles belonging here is mentioned in Misehna and Tatmud, far the mentions were always only tentative: so it can be confidently assumed that the Pataestinian handet at that time may well have been 240 different num-

him, of course, was of the most varied importance within the overall traffic, but this is" in the hands of every votke of the Fatt, the series of thesetben was ofi'enbar very tany and statttich.

r

## Chapter Eight.

Metireres Einzelne vom pat ästini scheu ttiimtcj jener Zeit.

§ 37.

MereantiUsetie Locatititten verschiedener Art.C

1. The Palestinian Jews usually understood chanut to mean a sales aisle, in the background of which the goods were located; further forward was a tafet {tris or tres) for their sale, which according to Beza 11, b was not always this couatructinn had; the tfha mentioned in B. mezia 2, 4 was wotit des Krämers Götd-box. However, some of the goods were also placed in front of the store door (1!. kamma 2, 2). For the night this as well as the tablet was removed and the location was destroyed (Shah- bat 35, b, also a meaningful passage Kohet. 12, 4 refers to this). According to Shebnot 7, 5 and Tos. Makhshirin c. 3

In such stores, wheat was also sold in small quantities and green goods were exchanged for stone; in addition, some were used for selling fish (ChiitUn 95, a), others for serving wineCC, and in the same way for even more.

It was also understood to include workshops and the room zn each trade, e.g. B. hatra 2, 3 speaks of a chanut of bakers and dyers, of a blacksmith Tos. B. kamma c. 6, of rhanujot of the weavers Taanit jer, 4, 5, "-^3 in that the craftsmen also sold their products there.

C The explanations in this paragraph are based on the explanations in Note 23.

CC The Arabs are just getting to the White House.



These locations were often on the lowest floors of houses, but more often they were in markets and soustif^en open spaces as well as in the streets, according to B, batra 2, 3 ancti to wide in the front ovens of the houses, and were then theits btos of stalls covered with boards, theits walled, gteich as even now the craftsmen of Jerusatem almost atte in stalls standing in the bazaar streets, and only very setten work in itir own dwellings. Incidentally, it seems that in those cities that had or maintained market stalls (basitiken), these stalls were also often located in them.

2. The term paUer inuss, as shown in note 23 can be traced back to nüiXi^Tiipiov (Kauftaden and also Markthatte), but it only occurs for the sale of baker's bread, which the seller had bought from several bakers; already deshathb, and far the purchase of this V erb reite tsten foodstuffs attracted far more buyers to this locat ats than to other shops, it may have been more spacious and attractively furnished and thus had the advantage of a special designation, C Aehntich were woht the "market houses" for griin goods mentioned in Machschirin 6, 2 and flour types.

3. According to Ab. sara 16, b, there were actually three types of basilicas: "of kings, for baths, and for the laying down of weapons". There is no doubt that the older ones also had the essential type of these buildings: a hanging quadrangle, the roof of which rested entirely or mainly on pillars, with sloping sides; and it is known that the Romans used them for commercial traffic. I found mention by name of the Basitiken of Askaton, in which - presumably among other things - wheat was sold (Tos. Ohotot c. 18); but certainly other cities also had sotche, above all the splendidly listed trading city of Caesarea, and further afield, where in our Quetten

C Hach Toft. Jadajim c. 2 once found R. Jose the R. Etiescr in the ehanut of the bakers ta Lyiida: presumably there is also a kind of baker's bazaar there meant, aowuht because of the pturat used for it, ats also far a sotcher The bazaar was more chic than a bakery for the most popular meeting of writers.

r

I

maybe the same in the two photos below.

4. There is no mention of the wheat kaiife in the siitke, which word is presumed to be at-cQSixTj (Koruuiiagazin), and Jebamot is his by name. 7, 3 Aescatun. B. mezia jer. 5, 8 Se])- phoris is ascribed a satches sidke. Since it is unlikely that Askaton had a grain store and, as we have seen, a basitika for selling wheat, either the two were identical or the grain store took up a part of its basitika.

5. Tos. Demaj c. 1 mentions an Icipa of Chaishuh and of Antipatris in the sense of a large and even urban Waarentocat, Tos. Erubin c. 5 a sotche of Tiherias. In itself Ä-ijyin means a large vault, the word even occurs for Himmetsgewötbe, and the former phrase also speaks of the kippa of a bathC. Its use was not that of the basitika, Its shape is probably an outer one, and in any case its cover must have consisted of a large dome.

6. The AVort ozar occurs againhott for a common Waareuniedertage after resp. vieter Händter of a city, so commemorates Tos. Demaj c. 1 of the os'aröt of Jabueh and that of DenabCC, According to Tob. Schebiit c. 8, however, there was such an ozar in almost every town. This is presumably to be understood as low days, in which the sale of goods usually did not yet take place, but the goods were kept here in order to be transferred later in larger quantities to the sales ocates, perhaps because they were not spacious enough, or because the ozar was so arranged that a variety of goods were preserved in it more freshly. There were also such low days from individuals, but In the last sentence, there is also mention of those who had been hired by kings, and even more often, city authorities it is established or the merchants of a place unite for this purpose have. The fact that the important trading town of Jabneh has several

i

C According to Ab, aara 1, 7, a Gütterbitit was placed in it.  
-- This place appears there ats an Austenite, Ptot.  
ii^th, 24 a Denaha is listed in Patrayrene.

had, as the Pturat osarot seems to besaij;eii, is very hegreiftich;

may have been. There are, however, other names for Waarenniedertagen, except that it cannot be decided whether they were independent synonyms or whether they were understood to be special kinds of Niedertagen. Namely the word megura I have never found anything in the sense of a communal settlement, and as that of a single merchant it may be small and of unsightly construction; but Tos. Demaj e. 1 niogiröt of Sidou and Tyre are mentioned. Then the word haftek before, according to note 23 of äito^jät), among which the Greeks understood as a storehouse. The term niartef is found btos for a low store of wine and also woht vinegar; Pesachim 1, 1 speaks of a sotchen, in which the barrels are stored in several rows next to and above one another.

7. The most common name for market was schuh. From Kohet. 12, 5 it should be noted that the scJnik was not a street, but an extended space like our market places; also he became after ib, V. i to those permanent booths, but especially used for transitory freight traffic. According to Tos. B. mezia c. 3 and Sifra 140, h was usually held in the towns every Friday, but it seems that formerly it was held every Monday and Thursday.

8. Different from the urban markets were those called kathis, aitun and otherwise tautähutich, from xaTäXuai, caravan station. Namely, when the caravans arrived, the ' Many of the local inhabitants went there, partly to look around, but also to buy and sell. As we saw earlier, the caravans did not wait until the end of the war to sell their goods. to the end of their journey, but sold what they could at the stations. And they made money there.

shopping, as well as groceries for their long-distance travels.

also in goods for resale, if such were offered to them by the comers at prices promising profit, and these will not have failed to procure goods of various kinds in view of this as well as of the probable influx of the surrounding population, i

T

I the ephemeral market was finished, very similar to the Arab Chan. Later, this name was applied to fairs in general, even in places that were not on the caravan routes, have been extended, atier still in the Toaifta (vergt. note 23)

9, But the same applies to the station and the market

The above-mentioned note contains certain traces of the fact that the Jews of the time also did business in the inns. This is made very clear by the fact that

In them the most diverse people came together, also where often buyers and sellers ordered each other into these neutral places; presumably, however, it had also become customary for the innkeepers themselves to have a stone hand, as it still happens in villages - Endtich,

10. the jerid, a cattu^ of a higher kind, so to speak, was more important than a market, it was similar to our fairs, and took place at certain times. According to To-^ ib sara e. 1, a sotcher batd was appointed by the king or the great men of the country, batd by the votke, and in honor of a god, in wetchem The Jews considered the visit sinful.

It is also noted there that some of these fairs were held outside the city, and from their many booths the Speech. Naturally, there were all kinds of things to buy, according to ib. jer. 1, 4 also sktaves and cattle. Somewhat later we read here that there were three jeridin (in that region): of Gaza,

Acco and Botna, the most important of these was the last; but only a few times earlier the Jerid of Tyre is mentioned twice, and according to Ab, sara 11, b, perhaps Ain-Becbi was also a measuring place. I have not been able to find out where the latter place was, but Botua is connected with today's Batneh, on the other side of the Jordan and uord-northeast of Jericho. The coastal days of Gaza, Acco and Tyre give rise to the assumption that the name

I jerid originally meant to refer to the descent, in that one can only reach the coast from the Palestinian mountains almost when >hj nabstiegC when there was shopping to be done in the trading towns by the sea.

Different names of the sellers and their thatsäctitictie difference.

Some of the sellers didn't have a particular beueiiiiiiiig, so z. e.g., "the sellers of fruit, children, appliancesC Moed kataii 2, 5, -cattle handler" Sctiekatim 7, 2, but the term >fattener" also occurs for the latter, e.g. Erubin 10, 9, presumably because they were mostly both; hardly any different here. of is the designation "die, wetche guten Purpur wägen", >die, wetche Gtas wagen- Ketim 29, 4. 6. the spice merchant received the special designation bassätn (B. mezia 56, b), but woht nuiC, if he sold spice exclusively or predominantly, because tetzteres also had the rochet feit, under which a tabutet-

menttich, however, went about the whole country with spices, perfumeries and jewelry, as well as with effective and miraculous medicines; these people were not in good standing, as far as their trade often led them into the women's chambers, but also presumably as far as they persuaded them to spend unnecessarily. However, the word did not entirely lose its original meaning "Hausirer", according to Maaserot 2, 3 is thought to be a rochet in fruits. The grain merchant, niton of Qix&vrfi, also used to have a special name, and he is still called Demaj 5, (1 and more often; attein attmfttig must have been ignorant of the true meaning of this word among the Palestinian Jews, because Tos. Bemaj c. 5 is called a vendor of greens, pastry and pomegranates, B. batra 5, 10 a vendor of wine and Oet gteichfatts sHon, and Demaj 2, 4 are

The "sitons and grain sellers" are even listed next to and at different from each other. However, the two last settlements show that the siton sold in larger quantities than the chenwani.

The latter word, borrowed from chanut, denoted the owner a sales stall, and in one of them his wife also took care of the sales for the Orient, according to Ketubot 9, 4, not only temporarily. This often happened

r

on Borg (Tos. B. mezia c. 8. Abot 3, 16), and according to the last stette and Schebiot 7, 5, the merchant wrote down the goods in a so-called pinax, which was kept open during the sales hours. In addition, another person other than the owner of the goods was also responsible for the sale in the chamit, e.g. according to Tos.

B. mezia c. 4 fitr the same interest in the profit. It was something special when people came together to do business. sammintegten: a written contract about this is mentioned in B. mezia 104, b. Examples of the marriage of a sunmie to the company B. mezia jer. 4, 2 occurs again. As aftermats under siton, however, tdf/ar was also understood to mean the larger merchant and setbst the wholesaler, for the meaning of ta)fre chariuih Pesachim 116, a I must refer to note 24. By tagar safsar B. mezia 51, a is to be understood either a handetsagent or a makter, in either case both were known.C ^ According to Demaj 5, 4 we have the mnpöt for one to who buys his goods or merchandise from vendors and sells them again in China. The word originated from jiövom&Xi^?, which the Greeks understood to mean someone who was granted the right (the monopot) to trade in a particular commodity, as well as someone whose trade involved only a single item.

tiket was concerned. The second category is also used for the Palestinian

§ 39.

Getd, dimensions and weight

of the Palestinian Jews from the Greek period until well into the Tatinudic period were presented in N. 3<sup>6</sup> of the first contributions to this section; some more concerning them will find a more appropriate place here. In addition to the types discussed there for each marked period of this period, which despite their almost entirely foreign origin, are nevertheless

4

- The aratiisctie safsir tiieDte /ut designation of both, iiiid ib. Ba, b means aafsir jedeufatts deo Makter, for which mao meanwhile Bpikter and jedenfatts already Rabba 1, 8 sirmr Bagte,

137

In order not to have to repeat myself about this, I refer to § 49, where it is described in the description of the transactions of the time. -

With regard to the various dimensions of this period, I have a different perception. I do not remember having found any indication of the value of goods in the quettes. For the Bibtian period and also

For the period from the Middle Ages to the Roman period, this is hardly surprising, since the quaterns of this entire period are so extremely sparse; but Josephus is far-reaching and not lacking in related data, the Mishnah and Tatmud even speak of very similar things tough mate, and in Atten I found no trace of a sotchen Use of the ette! In any case, very little use must be made of it in the trade of the Atterthum.

and I therefore assume that the fabrics were made in whole pieces rather than in adjusted quantities for the individual garments; we also saw earlier that some fabrics were already given their approximate shape during weaving, and that more often the finished pieces of clothing ats the fabrics in the Handet. Regardless of this, however, you can

think. - The quoters do not say whether the dimensions given were round or square; the latter is somewhat more likely, since the Talmudic discussions of them do not refer to the width of the hat, the breadth of the hand and the width of the finger. Incidentally, the measurements for dry things must have been made as flat as possible, otherwise it would be incomprehensible that the most heaped up measures were calculated differently. With regard to the height measurements for liquids, it should be noted that in the measurements of the Hui there are notches too wide to designate

The ounces were marked by lines, just as the ounces on Roman pound coins were marked by lines; and perhaps this was also the case with other vessels.

r

188

knew how it is with our wine barrels and liter bags of fat. So we read Talmot 10, 8 from a leather hose, which held two seahs (17.28 liters); it may also be inferred from Ketim 2, 2 and Sifra 115, b that the small barrels of Lydda contained one seah, those of Bettehem two, but that there were also pots of 3 - 5 seahs, made of baked clay; there are also mentions of Gatitan bags, which must have been very stony. Finally, some measure "eggs" are mentioned, made by the potter from white or black earth, in which the grocer sold liquid and dry things: presumably they were the size of a hen's egg or several, because they could be used as containers, as the log of the "Wüstenniaass" was quite rightly given the space of six sotchen eggs. - ■ The wagons of several Cups from vendors, e.g. the grain merchant, the grocer, of the godsmiths, the sellers of Pui<sup>h</sup>pur, Wotte, Ftachs, Gtas, are Ketim 12, 1. 2. äü, i - 6 iu a way distinguished that they must have been thetweise different from each other eoustruirt, also vergt. ib. 17, 15. 16. But their construction cannot be discussed here, suffice it to say that in addition to the usual scales, the often-mentioned turbitie A. i. tniüiia, the Roman scales must also have been known and presumably ib. 12, 2, although I have not found the name stateni in the quotes. The weights were not to be made from any kind of metal, according to Boraita B. batra 89, b, as far as this would wear off, but from hard stone or gtaa (according to Tos. B. batra c. 5 only of Gtas), therefore they do not tegen iu sentence, as far as this addresses them. According to an addition there

Market researcher.

In Attia and other Greek cities there were "market" supervisors, called agoranomen; in Rome the roughly similar office was assigned to the votksadite. In imitation of this or out of the same needs, the pataesti nish Jews market masters, which in our Quetten

C Vietteicht already refers to an agoranomen in Jeru- satem in 2 Macc. 3, 4, but only later do we find more specific information about these officials. According to B. batra 89, a. Tos. B. mezia c. 6, they were to supervise weights and measures, but were not to interfere with the prices, but the patriarch had also entrusted them with the latter; and Demai Jer. 2, 1 speaks of an agoranomen who urged the people to sell their goods, but according to Jonia 9, a this urge was also emphasized by the stick. Ab. sara 58, a speaks of a sotchen overseer who drilled a barrel to taste the wine in it (whether it was not spoiled or corresponded to the price demanded), and then poured back the rest of what was taken out. According to Sifra 20Ü,b, they also had to make sure that the vendors cleaned the measures for barrels as well as the weights and the scales at certain times. In addition, they had the right, as did their Roman cotteges according to Juvenat 10, 101, to break up any masseurs found to be too stony. B. batra 89, b mentions the cauterization of the maasae and the supervision of the fact that only suitable ones are used, but not only for Babytonia.

§ 40.

about the prices

of the main items of the Palestinian trade of this period was discussed in the second article of this section, as far as the quaternary information made this possible; and at the beginning, many other details were also given there, from which an idea of the value of the goods at that time can apparently be gained, just as from the prices of the goods. However, to what extent knowledge of this is of a correct



officials, as well as the sphere of activity of their Cottegeu ta Ätheu and Korn.

140

If a proper appreciation of the Iiatastianian handet of that time were to be made, SU I deny myself any estimation of how much more valuable the Getd may have been in those times than it is today, such as Böckh's claim that it had a ten times higher value in the Atterthnm than in his own time. I am distracted from this not only by the great uncertainty of any such estimate, but also by the perception that the data compiled in the aforementioned article, while showing the greatest wealth of a single item, also shows high and even enormous prices for other items, and not at all the wealth of the most common necessities of life and the high prices for luxury items:

you will find there that wheat, beef and veal, for example Stone cattle, beasts of burden, the defense pieces of the middle class were quite expensive, also fish, wine and the bitter fruits by-

from the fact that Palestine produced the two other products in quantity. After this and numerous an-

the dates of those contributions seem to me that at that time, Perhaps, however, with the exception of the most recent times, the notion of a generalized get- tween is not at all applicable to all other times. The social views of modern times have meant that in food, clothing, comfort, amusements and the like, the middle classes want to do the same as the higher, the lowest as the lower, and to a certain extent the breakthrough in the recognition of human dignity and the growing common humanity provides the lowest classes with some assistance in this: this can be seen from the fact that the lower classes have a better standard of living than the higher classes.

- In addition to much good and goodness, a common spirit also emerged. However, this was not the case with many of the attentive peoples of the early and later period, and certainly not with the Palestinian Jews of that time. Most of them were in themselves extremely frugal, and I have found almost no trace in the quaternities of the less well-off among them competing with the better-off in costly indulgences or luxury; not only silently, but presumably also as a matter of course and therefore wittily, they renounced what they could not pay for, hence the dubiousness of the Jews.

141

I found that those natinmgsmittet, Kteider, etc., whose price we found high, were not bought by the poor, even if

naturally with the poor and the few rich. If one wanted to find out the value of the goods at that time, one would have to strictly distinguish, however paradoxical this may seem, between the value of the goods for the poor and the value of the goods for the rich.

may have possessed for those who lived there. But the still rather sparse information from that time is not sufficient for such a difficult divorce.

Nenntes Kapitet.

taiutetsgeogiapUie of TatäBtina at that time. S 41.

Sufficient roads, which are currently maintained by patä-stina's depths, which enable him to connect with the most important hands in that competitive area, we have already p. 22 and 46: I refer the reader to them, and

I can only add a few things. Firstly, that the road from Egypt mentioned there must have been of even greater importance than before and since the Ptolemaic period. Secondly, that it had an important continuation from Gaza along the sea, but presumably only under the Romans; namely after it had crossed from Petusium via the Tempet

of Casian Zeus, Ostrakine, Rtiinokorura and Raptiia to Gaza, she touched Askatou, Jamnia, Joppe, Cftsarea, as bett. Jud. 4, 11, 5, and followed the bends of the coast as far as Tynis. Finally, we now find a second road in use from Damascus to the plain of Jisreet etc.: the one mentioned above crossed the Jordan in the south of the Sea of Tiberias and touched Scythopotis, whereas this one crossed it already in the north of this lake by means of the so-called Jacob's Bridge, and crossed the Gittaeen mountain ranges into the large

142

Etieie. Those who, according to Ptin. 12, 40 withtetasian goods via Carrh.1 in northern Mesopotamia and via GabbaC to Pata-stina.

Of course, in addition to the roads listed here and above, there were many more stone roads in Palestine, which the Quetes do not remember, and this can be confirmed by the fact that the network of milestones, which under the Romans also covered the Palestinian roads, was not limited to the main roads mentioned above. The Rei- But these milestones were all the more useful to the transmitter and thus also to the handet because they were only about the stone Roman side of

the roads to Jerusalem were permanently paved from a great distance either from Satomo or from Atters, and the other roads of the land were, as far as dei"" Tempet, according to Shekatim 1, 1, were repaired in the last thirty days before the Passover feast,CC however, in favor of the approaching waders, but it benefited attem traffic;  
and after the destruction of the temple, the maintenance of the roads was one of the few deeds of the Roman regiment. Let us now take a look at the hand sets of Palestine in three First Jerusalem, then the other inland cities of Mercantile importance, and finally the seaside cities.

§ 42.

Jerusalem.

Even in the busy times of the return from the Exile into the Ptolemaic period, this city cannot have been without a hand as the largest in the country and an important place of pilgrimage on the Wadden Sea; indeed, this must have increased as the city grew. The first effective trace

C The otherwise unknown Gabba :  
further ib, 5, 19 to Cjrrheatic , eit

t wobi with the Qabenera,  
r north south proTJnz Syrius, interlaced

' According to B. batra 6, 7 they should be 16 Jüdische Etten (at V'/i meters) wide,

143

of an already respectable set of hands from Jerusalem, immediately before the Maccabean struggle , I have collected in 2 Mack. 4, 9, see page 75 and also the next page. But I have already stated in earlier places that Jerusalem became quite extraordinarily rich after mats, as well as over a year of was a royal residence for a hundred years, and that, although its splendor diminished with the kings, the festivities there took on ever more impressive dimensions until the end of its existence, even attracting several millions of guests.

from Egypt and Egypt, from Arabia and Babylon, from Syria and Stone Asia, from Greece and its islands, later also from Italy and perhaps even from Spain. It is needless to say that this not only gave a tremendous boost to the trade there, but also to the trade there; and the trade was not diminished by the fact that it was more intense shortly before the festive season and during the rest of the year, but only allowed periodically. However, it must have been very important even in the darker times, for even then Jerusatem was still an extremely crowded metropolis, and there was no shortage of local and foreign Jews who flocked there out of devotional needs at any time of the year. Indeed, considering that Acts 6:9 speaks of synagogues in Jerusem of the Libertines (the Roman Jews), Cyrenaians, Atexandrians, C Citicians and those from the province of Asia, which suggests a more stationary stay of the local men in Jerusem, CC I had no doubt that it was either taken or at least used for trading purposes. CCC I will make some specific assumptions about this a little further on.

- Through wet roads Jerusatem, despite his brains-

C This is also Megitta jer. 3, 1 is mentioned.

CC AiiBdriiokticti and even more comprehensively it is written ih. 2, 5<sup>10</sup>, but this sentence is myttiic.

८८८ It seems to me that the Berachot jer. 5, 1 mentioned above entitles Sepphoris to the same shots in a not at all insignificant handetsptatze.

144 I

The river, which was in hiiitaogtictier connection with the then Wetthandet, was p. 46 and so on. It was also connected to the sea via the waterways, and for his own Itafenstadt gatt Joppe, likewoht from the others The import from the country's port cities was presumably far greater. Now, although reference is made to some of the transit trade, the import of this city was of a hundred times greater importance, and we have to assume that the supply of foodstuffs to Palestine itself was of the greatest importance, even from Gati-tää, C only that from this province the sellers, as well as the Wadden sailors will have mostly avoided the route through hostile Samaria; they could have traveled on the western side of the river. and on the transjordanian road that the latter is bypassed.

They also led the luxury and other industries, which were little or not at all cultivated in Palestine, and sent merchants from the Palestinian seaside towns, especially Tyrians, Atexanians and Arabs to them. This also presumably happened

by those Jews from various countries, of whom we saw earlier that they had taken up permanent residence in Jerusalem. We have already had something similar twice: in ancient times the offer in 1 Kings 20, 34 that merchants from Israel could set up bazaars in Damascus, as Syrians had done in Samaria; and 2 Macc. 4, 9. 19 I could only understand about Jewish merchants from Antiochia who had settled in Jerusalem because of the trade. In the same way, however, Jewish merchants and merchant agents from various countries now appear to be

They may have made Jerusalem their place of residence for a shorter or longer period of time, in order to have goods from their lands available there, especially at festival times, but also during the rest of the year. In addition, they may have performed two other activities: they also supplied the merchants of Jerusalem and those in the Palestinian country towns from here.

C From fruits we read this Maaserot i  
■treiitp imd Oet is ps unzweitettiaft.

with imported goods; and since there were also merchants from other countries among the Festwatt factories, they would not have spurned this unmissable opportunity to establish lucrative mercantile connections with them for themselves or for their customers or trading friends.

Of markets .Jerusatems in this period we find mention of:

1) the market of the cattle master Erubin 10, 9; it was a lockable market, and no fattened cattle were sold on it, but all cash cattle. 2) the market of the Wotthftndter ib. and bett. tud. 5, 8, 1, In tertzter Stette also 3) a market for blacksmith-  
"aareu and 4) a "Kteiderniarkt", as well as ib. 2, 19, 4 a "Batkenmarkt", where bats were used to build houses and also woht  
üretter were made and sold. The existence of a bakers' market was made probable in the note in question. The fact that there were also markets in Jerusalem where t'rums

Beza 5, a shows that they were drunk, but it does not follow from this that they were "btosse fruit markets. In fact, the  
"Market houses" for greenware and flour varieties from Machscherin  
C, 2.CC Synedrin 89, a still speaks of an upper "tind einem  
unteren Markt in Jerusalem, of the former uch Tos. Chuttin c. 3,  
but no further details about them can be found. In any case, the  
upper marketplace was an ottichity on

separated. Stalls and other sales stands may have been erected there for the needs of external visitors to the temple, and there are strong indications that a part of the beautiful huts surrounding the upper slopes of the temple hill was set aside for them. There are also unquestionable signs that a kind of cattle market was located even closer to the temple, presumably in the only ten-storey-wide but very narrowly defined area under its high outer walls, although it was not for sacrificial animals, but on the preparation days of the festivals it was certainly full of lively traffic.

C Vergt. on this and on the rest of this paragraphu Note 26.

CC However, this set does not exactly apply to Jeruaatem , but if there was a sotche ii'gendendwo iu Patästina, we can least deny it to Je- rusateni.

10

' hehi'f;. Since iudesseu atte Erwabuungeu von damatigen Markt Jerusatems nur ganz beitäufige "ind, und die hier aufgezähteten nur einen kteit der Gegenstände betrifft, wetche der dortige Yerkehr muss haben umfasst: so gab esetbst noch viete andere Märkte oder Straßen mit Verkaufsbuden, Nicht tiiirch- gehenda, aber doch vorwiegend nahm die Verkäufer der nAm- tichen objects their stand next to each other, apparently more in the<

1 Ktick view of the buyers ats to their own advantage. And

The city of Aetia Capi, built after the destruction of Jerusatem on a massive part of its territory, must have been scattered throughout the city.

totina does not appear as a place of trade, and in any case the Jews would have willingly and voluntarily kept away from her.

§ 43.

Äudere Biueueätädte.

About 32 kilometers south of Jerusatem day Hebron, and \_ß 5S through its road connection with Jerusatem, with Gaza and J^ with Aitat; even now -mn^s it is still a center of traffic between Arabia and SjTien,- ,C-^j A caravan market of Emma um is thought to be Keritut 3, 7 cC-^

s This refers to the Emmauni, which was called Nikopoti'^^^t at about the same distance west of Jerusatem. The northern part of Lydda (Diospotis) was of greater importance, as it may have been called de"

I roads, the one from Egypt and Gaza to the 'great' Ehenet, now with a branch to Caesarea, and the one from Jerusalem to Joppa. Its merchants are commemorated in B. mezia 4, ^~ S

and ib. 51, a it is said of them that they understood their business very ^ ^well; yet they appear to Pesachim 62, b at quite ~ )".

■ notorious, presumably on the point of honor. Under the Vtc^^z:oIe-  
' maer rule in Patastina, Lydda was a mint, and the

Schluss from the coinage of a city on its handet!

is not a vortkommen, but still quite justified, wes^fca/i I also  
with other patästinischen cities, in wetchen Getd

It is to be noted that they may have been minted at other times as well, but only those times can be indicated from which coins of the places in question have survived.

have. The purchase deeds of Bet-Hino are mentioned in E. mezia 88, a, it seems to have belonged to Judfta. Of Antipatris and of Chaischub, Tos. Demaj c, 1 a Waarenniedertage is mentioned, desgteichen ib. the market of Patrim, with a Znsatze, the beideo tetzten quite unbekanntern places as well as Antipatris in the Samarieo in the west; but Tos. Gittin c. 8 Antipatris still belonged to Judfta, and that it was of some importance as a trading center is made even more probable by its location on the road already mentioned, which came from Lydda and led a little further north to the right to the "great plain", tinks to Caesarea. I must not exclude Samaritan places from this list, since despite the antipathy between Jews and Samaritans, trade links between the two are still very much conceivable. It should also be mentioned that the city of Saniaria, despised by Herod and named after Augustus Sebaste, cannot be thought of without a handet, but that since Vespasian, the latter has relied on his favored and uplifting securement.

(Neapotis, on coins Ftavia Neapotis) seems to have passed over.

In the interior of Gatitää, the two main towns of Sepphnris and Tiberias had considerable traffic, especially because their grain trade was significant, and of Sepphoris a comhad B. mezia jer. 5, 8 expressly mentioned, also vergt. the fabulous exaggeration of its markets B. batra 75, b.

Dassetbe day in western Gatitää, was connected to Acco by a mountain road and was elevated by Gabinius to the seat of a synedriini. Tiberias, however, was close to the eponymous Sea, and also traded in fish, both fresh and prepared, as well as considerable shipping; an urban merchant settlement of Tiberias is mentioned in Tos. Erubin c. 5, two markets there are mentioned in Rabba 1, 79, its Jewish chewers Moed-katan 13, b. Significant southern city of Bet-schean, better known under the name Scythopotis. It belonged to the so-called Decapotis, from  
There are a few words to be said about this. Note 27 talks about the

■Cities ges|irocheii , wetcbe belonged to itii , tuiii showed that at least in three of thesetben (Scythopotis, Hippos and Gadara) a Jewish population was located next to the pagan one. Whether this city-build aiicti was created for mutual protection in iiotitic turmoil cannot be determined; without doubt, however, it was predominantly of a mercantitic nature, a kteiue Hausa, for geraie there, southeast of the lake of Tiberias, must have been very busy. The very busy traffic on the lake is evidenced by the quets, and again we saw that a large trade route, coming from Babylon via Damascus, cut through the area for a distance and then branched off to the east.

right arm across the Jordan and Scythopotis to the Mediterranean, C a second one southwards around the Dead Sea, to Petra and Aitat. This Scythopotis, after Damascus the largest city of this covenant, and whose merchant cities Ab, sara t, 4 are mentioned, also had a special branch.

Kiddnschin jer. 2, 4 it exported fine canvas, and already un( Alexander M. it was a mint, indeed there is a trace on Münzi dessetben that it with Chaifa on the Gulf of A( once had a coin convention (vergt. Levy p. 25), which presupposes a teb- hafte Handet connection with it. Hippos day ani'J southeastern shore of the lake of Tiberias, and is without doubt tatmudiache Susita; with such a favorable location, it will not have limited its trade to fruit, which it according to Schebiit jer.

8, 3 to Tiberias; meanwhile the dates of the De- - ^", kapotis were so prized that they even went to Rome. Southeast of him was Gadara on the road leading from Bostra toM~ri

that came from Damascus, and a shorter one verhaiiitT" rx^ it directly with Scythopotis; however, it cannot have been insignificant anyway, since according to ant. 14, 5, 4 Gabinius also placed one of the five Jewish synedries he constituted there. Not metr.Cf ,^( to the Decapotis belonged Botna or Batneh, northeast of Jericb{>.rf sfi

I but in Perea ; oh it was inhabited by Jews is not to be saidir^" -jea F. but his after Ah. sara jer. 1, 4 very important fair was, of course, also heavily attended by the latter, and there were also

C Make the Emporbtdhea of ÜSaarea deep he there.

However, in the Palestinian Binneiitamic there are still more places of not inconsiderable importance, the knowledge of those listed we owe only to very incidental mentions, and we learn



city of Pataestina must have had a common place of worship. It is noteworthy, however, that there was no place of trade to be named from the entire eastern part of Judea and Samaria; however, this entire region lacked any significant settlements with the sole exception of Jericho, and the inhabitants of the latter were content with the soil structure of their particularly richly blessed landscape.

A few words about the inland navigation of Palestine should not be missing here either. The ancient lake of Tiberias was after bett. Jud. 3, 10, 7 seven hours long and two wide, becomes But now there was no one; the storms that broke out on it too often did not stop fishermen from navigating it, and this was by no means done by fishermen. The Jordan was not very suitable for this, it has too strong a It flows into the dead sea, which is full of water, but in spite of this, it is sailed by respectable vessels, and from the fact that it is sailed on it, as on that lake, also in the service of the Hanseatic League.

A number of citations have already been given on p. 77 et seq.

% 44.

The seaside towns.

A much larger handet shipping but as well as vcrmuthlich The largest Palestinian handetstbat at all also took place on the sea coast and from it. Of course, this coast was by no means particularly favorable for shipping either: its southernmost part, as far north as Gaza, suffered from the fact that a sea current at the time of the annual floods of the Nitüe River washed up whole mountains of sand and debris, of which the The harbor of Gaza and the sea before it are shallow and marshy for miles around (Arrian 2, 26); but from there to Joppe was a deep coral reef, so jagged and sharp that it cut the ropes of the ships; and north of Acco was as far as Phoenicia

151

always ready to weigh anchor, and it must have been the same in Atterthum. We have already seen that Joppe was regarded as the harbor of Jerusatem, but that piracy was also carried out from there. North of it day Apott OD ia, and could not have been without traffic, since it was the only seaside town in the prosperous and wine-rich Saronian province. Then there is Caesarea, where a fortress tower used to stand, but Herod turned it into a magnificent city and gave it that name in honor of the emperor Augustus. The approach to ships was also dangerous and difficult there, but Herod built a harbor for it, which, according to bett. Jud. 1, 1, 5 to have been larger than the Piraeus

the goods that had been taken. As long as Jerusalem was still standing, Caesarea was the second city of Palestine in importance in every respect, and after its destruction the first. Dor or Dora, again a little further north, only received a harbor late and never became a port.

■ mata is significant. Now the beautiful gulf of Acco, about 15 kilometers wide, with two seaside towns. Namely on its southern shore, only an hour's walk from Karmet, Caifa<sup>C</sup> day, with a precarious anchorage, but nevertheless its sea trade is now of some importance, and will have been so even then. On the northern edge of this

Acco (Ptolemais), an important trading town and, according to Ab. sara jer. 1, 4 also a place of trade; the contradiction that batd is attributed to it only as an anchorage and batd as having the best harbor on the Syrian coast, is perhaps due to the fact that the entire gulf also provided safety for ships. A further sign of the importance of the mercantile

In view of the fact that the maritime cities listed here were already mentioned under Alexander M. Askaton, Joppe, Stratonsturm, Caifa and Acco, and Gaza, Joppe and Stratonsturm under the Ptolemaeans. But that in atten

There is no doubt that Jews lived in these eleven seaside towns,

<sup>C</sup> Under this name it is already Öchabtjat 2(j, i Sykamuos is identified with it.

1

^<from eight of them it could be proven p. 76 and 88 from the Quetten; and numerous other reports (s. note 28) are directly as well as indirectly beyond doubt that they were also involved in the handing of these cities, but the main reason for their removal from the Jewish villages had moved to these non-Jewish and quite often hostile villages.

The trading activity of the inhabitants of these seaside towns must have been varied. Initially, most of what Palestine could sell of its produce passed through their hands, being supplied to them by the prodigies themselves, but more usually by local buyers. A large part of what the caravans brought in on the designated roads from the east and the south ended up in their storehouses. The ponds

Of the many foreign products of nature and industry, of which it has been stated above that they were used in Palestine, two of them are without fat,

the low days of the seaside townsfolk; indeed, the enterprising among them will not rely on this maritime stage -

limited, but also extends to some coasts of the mid-tea area.

to make purchases there for the Palestinian market and also went J~\ for shipping. And reselling the goods that had been piled up here in so many ways was of course the second side of their trade, even if it was mostly^^ \_": went other hands through which this was done. Even the^""^^

Cities themselves, rich and prosperous, offered a considerable sales area; private individuals from the bypass as well as from the neighboring districts of the inland came to buy what they needed..."  
üü; inland merchants bought their stores herer:^^^

and it will also not have lacked the city's craftsmen, who have traveled as far as the Tyrolean patastina.

to seek sales from grocers and local families - ' t They also

arranged for the export of the local and foreign products supplied

to them by arranging for shipments na -^^^h

Aegyptians used more the caravan route, for those to  
Fhönizi^ more the sea route, and the one to their kitchens  
for shopping:

B^ie J

153

seafarers from the north and the west to the north.  
tante abtjesäääen, vietteicht noth more often but setber  
dahinschiffteu, für ihre Frechten Abtjesäen zu suchen.

L

Tenth chapter.

A few more details about the palestiniestic Hiiitct of that time.

§ 45.

Handptsreisfn pathstinistier Jews in IVemdß LSndor, and the

for hand ice purposes.

The fact that a single Palestinian traveled to foreign countries in the north, east and south of Germany for trade purposes during this period and then where their purchases have been made, for sales inland as to the merchants of the maritime cities, cannot be positively proven, but I will summarize what speaks for it here. The largest trading center of that time was Atexandria, and we found a lot of AtexandriniH goods as well as sotchen, but which seem to have come from Atexandria, in the Palestinian CoDBum: now it is not doubtful that they were quite often brought or sent to the Palestinian market by Alexandrian merchants, but it cannot be ruled out that Palestinian merchants were hotten. This is good news from Tyre, even though his handetsHor was already in the abuetim, and We even find repeated mention in the Tatmud of Palestinian Jews who visited it for trade, at the time of its fairs and at other times. It seems to Fenier that if it is not known that the Tatmud mentions men who came to Babylon from Palestine, they were quite often led there by Han-, detsinteresseu; that most of them of them were apparently scribes, cannot be objected to at all, since even sotches were often tainted by some kind of handwriting, and the fact that they were also scribes is a common circumstance.

153

as far as Itatia, from Macedonia to Ethiopia, from Pontiis to the Persian Gulf, as will be shown in the third section, and to the most ancient multitudes. of the fixed-watt riders iiu-e contingents, natiirtick among these There were also countless merchants who would not have failed to establish fruitful trade relations with fellow merchants in Jerusatem and in the Palestinian seaside towns as well as from abroad: no fair in the world, in ancient and modern times, offered a more favorable opportunity for this, and as we shall see later, the sense of trade was already generally developed among the non-Patestinian Jews. But there were also Gentiles to the trading company there. We had already seen it earlier from the merchants of Tyre in Nech. 13, 16, and without atten Wholesalers and merchants alike visited Palestine, mostly freely to sell, but to a much lesser extent certainly also to buy; and it may very well be that other busy Phoenicians followed their example. That the Tarmudaeans (the people of Patmyra who were very devoted to the Handet) also visited the Palestinian markets and >did not leave until the evening- is clear from Shabbat 21, b. This note is also instructive for our wholeC in another way;

It is doubtful that some of the Greek population of Alexandria also visited the Palestinian seaside towns and that more numerous merchants roamed the inland. In addition, foreign goods were brought here on the caravan routes that we have seen cutting through the country, although to a much lesser extent for distribution in the countries, as to be shipped thence in the sea cities, thence by the caravans themselves to Egypt and Phoenicia: but we already saw that in the caravans quite often the merchants were constantly transporting their goods and selling them at every important station, as well as buying in what promised to be profitable. The Arabs had a significant share in this caravan import, as can be seen from the numerous Arab articles whose naturalization on the Palestinian market can be seen from the quotes above

156

Nor was it certainly only Alexandrian and Tyrian ships that sought out the Patastian harbor: to a lesser extent, Ionian and Greek ships presumably did the same, and there is evidence of Roman ships. In particular, the precious Arab products came to Ptolemais, 12, 32 to the Romans via Gaza, and also a part of the Indian mss ^ have taken the route to them" via the Paphlagonian coast, but this may be considered all the more significant because Ptolemais, 12, 41 \_ArJ the too strong Roman consular of both products bitterly ~Mr^ beklagt. Moreover, the Romans had no longer been able to - ~m . disdain to seek to gain by hand, and set themselves their -j^tSJ Knights plundered all the countries -t":^ in this as in every other sphere: they will not have overlooked Pataestina, as strong as it was, for this purpose.

Species of the local Waareutraisjiorts and related species.

On land, they mostly used Eset and Ka^ etc, but the more tatzter ones far less in the mountain areasDi| ■ as on the mostly flat caravan roads. We already saw ' I that even the drovers, who carried grain to distant markets, liked to make the journey together; they put the sacks on the animal and did the same. still Ftachsünde, votte Weinschtäuche (vergt. p. 91) and other ! on. Viet stronger after, the cameets were loaded, widened [ even in a grotesque way; the image of a camel's egg loaded with goods, food and traveling gear in today's Orient is not inferior to the fantasy B. kamma 6, 6 of a sotchen with a load of ftachs, which is carried sideways into a grocer's shop.

Ideui light caught fire in it. However, the caron (xi^,T earrum, cart) was also used to transport cargo such as cattle or tollboats.] Meqschen, and was pulled by cows or toll sets (Schabb)

8, 3. i. B. batra 5, 1, It is not quite clear to what extent iUi eset and camel drivers as well as the carters and boatmen in dei

mt"

P 157

' Calls of Raiibera ataiideii (vergt. note '60, I). However, to confirm [ and supplement what I have already said about caravan travel, some more information may be added here. We saw again that for the comfort of the caravans on the roads they traveled, there were stations that were later called caravanserai or khan. From which

Robinson 3, 713 tells us that the khans on the "great road from Egypt to Syria" Syria offered btos accommodation for the night, and the travelers had to take their tents with them; kteiner were those in the region of Tyms, and granted them only a roofed ranm, but an innkeeper lived there who sold food to the travelers.

and also where they cooked what they had brought with them; on certain days of the week, merchants from the surrounding area would come to some of them for a meal.

of a market that is increasingly emphasizing the importance of a trade fair had received. - Sometimes, however, the caravans felt compelled or obliged to stop where there was no khan, and the campsite was then usually surrounded by a fence, according to Eruhin 1, 8^10 to wide btos of upright

or diagonally crossed agitator, to a greater or lesser extent, ct^SH Stakes driven into the earth in massive gaps

1.x Mnd were connected by several parallel ropes: ^isizetne gaps were even closed only with the frame of the load vJ-"hes (vergt. Note 30, II).

A wide variety of vehicles were used on the water.

X>s"-s Ftosa was known, but it remains uncertain whether a satches otter was a barge under the Berachot 4, 6, and More mentioned nsda was to be understood. The areha was a mutden-shaped barge and ■According to Shabbat jer. 4, 2 on the Jordan for grain transportation, also pulled onto the land; there also under the name nadir or nadiit a small boat of

■'^f^katon mentioned, but without any further details. Bett. Jud. 2, 21, 8 "There is talk of 230 vessels on the lake of Tiherias, the j^^tes of which were manned by four oarsmen. And according to

Ketim

1 'C^i speaks of the thönernen barges on the Nit. For sea cruises  
t a.ber they naturally used larger {seßiia, also Ufa), and

T0

For

For their greeting shiH'e, they developed the Beueuouag Liburnians ' ■  
^Ton the Romans, who according to Aeppiau understood this to mean  
schuett-sailing two-oarers, i.e. ships with two rows of oars  
diagonally across each other on each side. However, the ships used  
in Palestine were not really large, not even the ones mentioned  
above, because according to Zabim 3, 3 a ship was already large  
enough for

a large one, if it is not swayed by a person climbing on it,  
uniHTiach a Boraita B. mezia 80, b

The cargo hold of an Areba 30 type hub. of an ordinary  
ship 30 cor, a large Tiburnian SIO cor to hold d, i, about 13  
res]). 78 and 233 hectotiterC. I must refer to J note 30, III for a  
number of other points concerning the shipping of the Palestinian  
Jews; only two are mentioned here. According to a Boraita B. kamma  
116, b, there were agreements on Han-rJ detsftotten that if a ship  
was lost without the owner's protection, the value of that ship had  
to be compensated by the owners of the other ships; likewise  
between eset drivers traveling together in the event that the eset  
of one of them was lost; it is not stated there, but it is to be  
\_ ^a

assume that the replacement obligation also applies to the cargo.

stretched. It is also decided there that if several people had  
chartered a ship and a storm made it necessary to throw a part of the  
cargo overboard, the damages were to be paid according to the:"-.^  
weight, not according to the value of the goods thrown out.

At the end of Shabbat 10, 4 commercial letter carriers" ^  
who carried their letters in a bag, and according to iW~ j 19, a  
there was a post office for letters in some towns, ^- auderen not.  
From the remark of R. Jehuda Roacti haschac^r-  
9, b: "wie der Postbote überatthin geht und in der ganzen Gegei^;-  
Waaren herumbring" is to be seen that it is also sch-  
there was a parcel post in Palestine (for both points vergt. Ni \_  
30, IV). These facilities there did not originate from the  
Romans, but naturally also benefited the Handet.

C If the type of 5 mocüen and the -itatiarhe- Krtr zn Grunde S " ^



§ 47.

Taxes and other mercantile duties.

We saw above that sction Satomo sotchertei levied taxes, and after him the kings of Judah and Israet have not renounced this. This also happened twice under of the rule of the Pereans, although it is not clear that Ezr. 7, 24 Zott refers to articles of consumption and wayside shrubs.

There can have been no shortage of such levies during the reign of the Ptotenians and Seteucids; these kings were too well versed in Attic antiquity to be able to draw any conclusions from the already very extensive

The Athenians had not adopted and adopted anything in relation to the extended shunning laws of the Athenians; however, we lacked specific information about this in relation to Patastina. In 2 Mack, 4, Ö I have already mentioned above a taxation of those Jews of Antioch who stayed in Jerusatem because of the handet, by the high priest Jason; and it is certain that in Patastina, especially in the seaside towns, the merchant hides were heavily taxed, but this is less relevant here. It is only from Hyrcanus II onwards that we encounter express news on this point. According to ant. 14, 10, 6 and 22, there was a tax on Hyrcanus on grain and other products exported by land or sea; btoa Joppe is mentioned in this regard, but other ports are also mentioned. A levy under Herod of attempt üftenttichen "sale and purchase", which atso ver-muthtich was to be paid by both parties, is ib. 17, Ö, 4 with the addition that he should demand it with severity.

However, under Roman rule, the levies were over- and the customs in particular, became an extraordinary stage of the countries. Even the Triumvirs (according to Appian of the civil wars 4, 5) devised covenants of sales, in-whose news about sotche from the time of the first emperors show a massive increase in the same. In his description of Egypt, for example, Strabo tells us that there were tents of

J

161

The most uaiuentosii abgiitieii were devised and introduced at the beginning of the year. C

It is now certain, of course, that the Iiatstinian Jews, too, would have been able to use this leaching system and the

The available atten messages on this subject have put together a good theory. According to ant. 18, 4, 3, of purchased fruit but ats Vitettius nacti Jerusatem came, he exacted it from the inhabitants of that city. A Zott of t'erten is mentioned Ketim 17, IB, of Sktaven B. batra 127. b, of Schitden Ab. sara 10, b, where the exclamation "woe to the Shift", the without a Zott" even appears as a proverb, and therefore it becomes more evident that according to Matth. 9, 9. 10 there were many Zöttner at the lake of Tiberias; Shabbat 33, b, of a bridge Zott commemorates a city Ab. sara jer. 1, 4. According to Nedarini 28, a, there were also tax collectors who increased the amount of the tax according to their own efforts, as well as those who had set themselves up to do so; it was presumably these who caused the tax collectors to have such a bad reputation in the first place, e.g. In that passage of Matthew and elsewhere they are often called sinners, the Jewish among them are synedrin 25, b for being incapable of judging and of giving a good judgment, and according to B. kamma 10, 1 one should not change from their box, far stolen goods were in it. From. sara 13. a is of a levy, which the buyer only pays there.

C Ra is called us a Fiidergetd of sold wine (portoriam), a dike setgetd (temotiaticiiim) . a Rüderzott (rotatkvm), a Zott von Laat- thieren faaumnticuTn), a Fusggäogerabgabe (pctayitim} a pidveraticum for fighting on the roads, a HacbBtrasseazott (ptateaticwa), a Wittkomm (eatHtaticum), a Marktgetd (foratimtm), a Messgetd (tnestaticitm), a Packen- trägerzott (fatangaicam), a Barkenzott (barganatkum), a BiUckengetd (pon- tatcum), a Hafengetd (poriatkitm), a levy from the Sctiiffskurper (navatieum), a Qnaigetd (ripatieum), a Zutt for passing a Ftuss (rivaticwn), a Dammgetd (cespitntiatm), a "("("/■ifiw" {von ttmtn, Mauth), a taHtaticvm for the acquisition for the operation of an Oesubaft, finally a tranaticjim and an exdusa, whose work I do not know. It cannot be said that these levies are all incurred in the period in question, but it is beyond doubt that most of them are.

- 11

W2

rithteu miissteu when he bought from a grocer, but not Weun from a private person, that's a good sense. There it is also said that in pagan villages, on feast days in honor of their god, those foreign merchants who showed an interest in the celebration were given a drink. According to Tos. β. mezia c. 8, there was also not, but certainly very rarely, an isolated zotass out of good nature. Endtich sprictit Shabbat 8, 2 of Zottmarken aus Papyrus, eine sotche enthiett

was, for example, given to someone who had to cross a river and had already paid the tax for it on this side as a certificate, so that he did not have to pay it on the other side.

The most important occupation of the Atjüdische Haudetsrecbt.

This day, like the related biblical provisions and sayings which S, H and 50 were given, is also characterized by the demand for the utmost integrity in the relationship with the Lord; the scribes only formulated them more precisely and They specified, just as they proceeded with other moral and ceremonial regulations, here freely informed by the experiences which the experienced mercantile development has brought about. gave them a hand. But they also issued many mercantile ordinances for other moral reasons and even to uphold ceremonial laws, albeit only as pious admonitions, without the formal force of law, but within Judaism there was hardly any distinction between them, even such provisions were considered binding and were observed by the more pious just as conscientiously as the legal ones. Thus

B. mezia 4, 3 has already been recognized as an abbreviation, if the seller paid himself a sixth more than the object sold was worth; some permitted exceptions to this are listed in ib 4, 9 and in the Yerushalmi. B, batra

163

90, b is harshly rebuked for driving up prices excessively. B. mezia 5, 7 is forbidden to sell goods whose price has not yet been fixed in public trade, and the Terushatnii adds that the towns around Tiberias may do so if the price has been fixed in that city. According to B. batra 90, b one should not buy and stockpile essential goods, e.g. wine, oil and flour (according to Tos. Ab. sara c. 5 also grain), with the intention of doing so. to sell them at a higher price, nor to export them from Patastina, not even to Syria (which was heavily populated by Jews), but E. Yehuda ben Betera allowed the export of wine, as far as it reduced the temptation to recklessness. According to ib. 91, a, no profit at all was to be made in Palestine from the sale of these things, but R. Etasar ben Azariah did not disdain the merit of wine and oet, ■ - B. mezia 4, 11 is forbidden to sell various kinds of the nftmtic grain.

meaning that any other mixture to the buyer's wine is just as forbidden, is far added, but that one may mix strong wine with soft, as far as this improves it; and

if water has been deliberately poured into the wine, it may not be sold to a wine merchant, but may only be served if the buyer is notified. According to ib. 4, 12, R. Yehudah did not want a grocer to give roasted grains and nuts to the children so that they would come to him, or to sell something below the price in order to attract buyers.

But this is not enforced; furthermore, it is forbidden to remove the protective layer from the topmost layer of feigtgestettteu things in order to make pigeons, attes ttebrige is just as well procured, or to dress up sctaves, livestock, equipment for sale. Whoever sells wine may not have any spices in his store, the pigeons

that the wine is so fragrant. - B. batra 5, 10. 11 prescribes how often the larger merchant is to clean his weights, the craftsman his weights, weights and scales, and how much he is to add. According to ib. 89, b, the weights should not be of metath but of hard stone or Gtas, according to Tob, c, Ö only of Gtas. B. mezia 4, 2 says: whoever

11C

164

If you have paid for a good, but have not yet taken it, you can legally withdraw from the purchase, but if you have punished the offense of fraud, you will be punished for any breach of your word.

Atte these regulations also applied to sales to pagans, B. kamnia

113, a of 11. Akiba pronounced: -the fraud committed on a pagan

is a fraud". There it is also forbidden to evade the covenant, which the pagan government had established, because "the king's

law is law", and because inimerhiu the activity offered many opportunities for dishonesty, even Kiddushin 4, 14 was advised

against appointing his son to the merchant's business. - It

In some mercantile regulations a distinction is made between Jews and Gentiles, but of a completely "different kind! according to Ab, sara 1, 6. 7, no animals were to be sold to the latter "which were to be used for work, as far as they ■ - then would not have rest on the Sabt)at; also no wild animals

and what else would be common; according to ib. 15. b. 16, a auc]r-;^ti no weapons and no pig iron from which weapons could be forged, as they would most certainly turn them against the Jews; the addition there is truly touching: but mar- - ..j may sell them to Persians, for they "protect us". Furthermore, Shebiit 7, 3 forbids selling what has grown in the Sahbat year.

or with the first-born, with the Hebe, with attem vr^ the dietary laws forbidden to do handet. In the e=

the Kramer; and while hei fietdstreitigkeiten st^ Derjenige zu schwören hat, wetcher zu zahten betangt ist, ni( '■s. der Betangende, is Schebuot 7, 5 exceptionally the Krai "cr^" conceded to swear the relevant note of his store book to C-j. It should also be mentioned that according to B. mezia 52, a ^^ io I am not allowed to spend a coin that is too wet and not to sell it at its lower value, but have to perforate it and attach it to a small fountain. I have to rely on these mä^s. "^ Limit number of details, countless others in total'" inspired by the same noble spirit, one can '- CJioschen mischpat K. 227 - 237 resp. in the atten Quetten nacfi- ^^ indicated by Karo findu.

§ 49.

Getdgeschäfte.

The commercial transactions of the Palestinian Jews of that time were by no means as important as those of the modern period, or even of the Roman and Middle Ages; however, I must at least begin by showing that they also occurred within modest limits. The largest part of the trade at that time consisted of the exchange of goods, but this must have been very extensive. For firstly, as As has already been mentioned above, although during the whole year there were also many people from the most diverse countries who came to Jerusatem on the feast days, and had to exchange their foreign currency for that in Patastina for their maintenance there as well as for the temple donations and for any purchases. Then the foreign Jews sent their annual temple donations there, and of course mostly in the coins of their places of residence, e.g. to Shekatim 2, 1 in Dareiken. From both ways it is clear that Ketubot 13, 11 speaks of kappadocian, Sifra 61, a also of haby Ionian, mediæval and tyrianui Getde in Palestine. But also

The Palestinians themselves had to exchange one part of their harvest twice, for it was known that the so-called second tithe of the harvest was to be eaten during the feast times in Jerusalem, and whoever found it too burdensome had to exchange this tithe. in kind there, he exchanged it at home for the amount of the same getd, for larger amounts gotd, and this had to be exchanged again in Jerusatem for kteins getd.

At the end of the day, in Handet, as for all other payments in Palestine, exchange was necessary much more frequently than it is now, when almost every coinage system encompasses a large empire: in that region, for example in Palestine itself, but even more so in the small neighboring countries, which were in Handet's connection, almost every district often had so^ai tede Handetsstadt special coins.

I

I

Maas<sup>r</sup> scheni 4, 2 mentions the twofold ability of the exchangers to hand over coins for larger coins and vice versa.

For the exchange of a somewhat more notable

Of course, a surcharge (kaihon, x6X>.uβov) was paid, but nothing more is known about this with regard to civic intercourse; we do know of a premium to be paid on the occasion of a religious event. It was not paid by the Jews every year.

tich to pay to the Jerusatemer Tempet a hatber Scheket, from those living in Patastina before Pössach, and for the receipt of the same, representatives of the Tempetverwaltung set up tables, in the Tempet on 25. Anyone who did not have the coin that was currently in stock, but wanted to pay the amount in a smaller coin, or wanted to have the surplus in a larger coin, had to pay one maa, according to others one maa (the 12th or 24th day) more as a surcharge. I cannot go into some of the specific provisions concerning this kotboii, which are added to Shekatim 1, 6. 7, here; but it should be mentioned that the Yerushalmi, in listing five different opinions about the use of these surcharges, also gives the very ptausibete, \_ that the Wechster had received them for their efforts. It now appears that the collection of the temple donations was entrusted to wecbsteni by profession, as they are effectively called shutchaiiim in Jeruschatmi, and it was necessary to do so because the coinage relationships indicated required an expert knowledge of different types of coins and their fluctuating price. We don't know whether the many foreign coins that the foreign Wadden sailors brought with them and had to exchange could be exchanged at the same time or only at exchange offices in the city; However, it does not seem doubtful that those people also had other important I temple business. Indeed, there were also from other countries, f

C Matth. 21, 1'2 is discussed in note 26, and in this respect itaaact I have to restrict this evaugetiBc note to the turnover of the .\rt in question.

where Jews lived, significant and often quite enormous sums, collected from the annual temple tax and other donations from the Jews of a country, were paid into the treasury.

of the temple, and from these treasures, as from those that were collected in Palestine itself, a truly colossal temple treasure grew up attentively; from this the current costs as well as large expenditures of a political nature were covered, and in addition Crassus tarred it completely C, but from those undiminished quotas he fed himself attentively again, and those costs as well as expenditures absorbed only a small part of it. The administration of such a large and largely foreign treasure must undoubtedly have been carried out by expert men or at least under their supervision, and these were the Tempetwechster.

Furthermore, the Quetten CC also mentions Howie that has been taken out of service or has come out of service, rusted and doTjjiov, which may include not only uncoined coins but also coins that have become unrecognizable through wear and tear: the purchase and also the collection of coins in order to engrave them will have been a side business of the exchangers. The smelting of foreign coins was certainly even more common, and it may have been from this that the (iutdbarren von

246 kilogram, which was under the hood of Crassus. These manipulations must also have contributed to the maturation of a more accurate view of the device. In fact, it was not yet possible to form a clear idea of the

bähen what we now understand by Gotd- und Sitberwätiruug; but that actually only one single metatat can be the general value- xuesser, and that the metatat raised to it reduces the rest of the metatat to a commodity, had already been clearly recognized. Namely, with regard to the value of the

sentence that every purchase is only possible by taking possession of the goods.

C The door atte of this information concerning the tempetsctiatz gives  
^^ote 31, tiier In the case of Crassus' robbery, the only thing that can be taken from this is that it amounted to almost  $42\frac{1}{3}$  million marks.

CC Vergt, Maaser scticni 4, 2. B. mezia 4, 1 and my iiiirotogissctien "Vor-  
'CCiter8uctiungen< 1, 85.

f

B, mezia 4, 1, it was determined that the sitber coins ats of the actual getde were to be compared with those of gold and copper. ats were to be regarded as goods. However, it is clear that, even if the view that God's coins are the real thing has found acceptance, vergt. ib. 44, b, where we also find the expression

The term shukhani for the Wechster is obviously modeled on the terms rpsmtUvff and mensarius, but it is not difficult because of the fact that the Jewish Wechster also set up a table behind which he sat (B. mezia 4, 2), but he will have appropriated the entire business sphere of the Greek and Roman, as they were also prepared to accept or pay payments on behalf of others in return for a commission, as well as to insist on manuscripts and set against valuable pledges. Furthermore, ant. 18, 6, 3 shows that the Jewish fathers in Atexandrieu knew written instructions; there the atabarch Atexander gave the King Agrippa, a note with which a large sum was to be paid to itim by a business friend in the sub-Tibetan trading town of Dicaarchia; and there is no reason not to assume the same to a similar extent for the Palestinians. Finally, B. mezia 4, 9, teaches us that treasury bills were sold, and that, because of the cisico involved, it would be inadmissible to claim overpayment at such a sale C. Incidentally, my "Preliminary InvestigationsC 1, 86 on the fact that there were also exchanges of minor importance called tunnessar; and that mau kteine Getdbeträge changed hands with the merchant would have been possible even without Schebuot 7, 5 and Tos. Pea c. 4 setbstverständtich.

C Mommaen's assertion in his rünüschen Gesrtiichte 2, 393, thatB monopolized the entire extent of the Roman state of the Getdverketu-j at least does not apply to the Jews in Patästioa and Atexandrieu.

^n been, tritt ft wt

Contributions

to the first two sections.

\

First contributions.



The patästMgctieu ßetdarteu, weights and measures from the earliest times to the third century.C

I.

The whole israetite Atterttmiu t)is to the Exit horab did not yet know a coined Getd, but with large^Reii payments wo;; one damats rundtictic bars of Gotd or Sitber in the required quantity to the recipient, and any best as well as kteine payments were in this edetmetatte; but this one, like that one, must be removed. where before itceist of a letter or other sign the indication of their weight was engraved by the godsmith, so that their weighing, where it took place, only consta- tirte sottte. Without any doubt, such copper pieces were also used for coinage, but they lacked any kind of attachment down to Simon Mackabaeus. The most common pieces used for payment were called scheket and weighed 20 just {beans from the pod of the carob banana) about 5.1 grams. In order to be able to approximate the value of the uncoined and coined coins mentioned in this work in our current currency,

C From what I will give here about the said items, I advise you that the attermeiBed on my previously mentioned >metrologiBc premeiBng research, published in 1863 and the following.

CC Vietteicht also used to pay, like iti Acgypteii, in gotden rings of conventionettem weight.

r

172

I

I must refrain from saying, where the opposite is not indicated, that these same terms had a different fineness than this one. I will therefore count the atten pieces and coins of Sitber according to what they were worth according to their weight,

with the attendard pieces, since in our imperial currency the gold to the shekel is standardized as 15.5 : 1, whereas in the Attentim the shekel had a different ratio to the shekel in different periods. For the purpose of this work, however, I am not mistaken.

I am not wrong when I start from the shekel for all calculations of gold and copper pieces, and for the time up to the exit I add the gold to the Isfachen value of the shekel. According to the Pentateuchal statement of its weight, the Shekelschekeket was worth about 92 pfennigs. There are also mentions of the halves and quarters of it, but the kesita mentioned a few times seems to have been a multiple of the sheket according to Job 42:11; this assumption is by no means substantiated by the statement of R. Akiba Eosh haschana 26:a that in his time the maa in the province of Africa was of this value. The mine (maneh) is only mentioned as a 4<sup>th</sup> part of the sheket before the exit, but it can hardly be doubted that it was in use; as the hundredfold of the sheket it had the value of about 92 marks. The talent (kivkar) contained 3000 sheket or 30 mines, and was thus worth 2760 marks. It should also be added

adds that the "king's weight" mentioned in 2 Sam. 14, 26 from David's time must have been different from the one just described, even by its special name, and indeed there is much to suggest that it was significantly heavier. Now in later times the Arabic sheket amounted to exactly half the Pentateuchal sheket, and could well have had this weight much earlier; it is therefore reasonable to assume that under David's hand with Arabia, the weight of this country began to become more Hebrew, and that the name of the royal was used to distinguish it from the native one. Then there was also Sheket, Mines and talents Gottes in the weight of those of Shekel, and after

L Therefore, the Gotteschekeket was worth 11.96 marks, according to mine and deed.

The weight for buying and selling is heavy before the exit were verschieden from the getdewichte. The stone weight pieces were then multiplies of the sheket of 5.1 grams, and in the metrological preliminary examinations 1, 27. 28 was from Ezuch. 45, 10

BD, V  
en. '

173

-It is true that there were weights of 5. 10. 25 and 50 sheket, also of 25 V2. 51. 127<sup>1/2</sup> and 255 grams, the larger ones were in any case the mine and the kivkar, the latter of 510 Gi<sup>1/2</sup>amm, the latter of 15.3 Kito, and presumably there were also smaller multiplies of the mine. But is the above assumption about the "royal weight" correct?

instead of their hatbo size. From the fact that the weights in the Bibet are always called stones, it can be concluded that the corresponding stones were originally selected and used.

The "Mosaic" or, if you will, pre-exit Ette had the length from the ettenbogen to the tip of the middle finger, and amounted to 6 handbreadths, but the handbreadth was understood to be that of the four fingers without the thumb; it seems to have originated in Egypt, where they had a sotche of 453 centimeters. In addition to this, the Greeks and Romans used a measure of 5 handbreadths, called gomed, in addition to their ettes of gteichfatts 6 handbreadths; and seret (span) was said for 3 hand widths.

The biblical hollow masses for dry and liquid goods usually had different names, but the same cubic content. The largest measure was called rhomer, later kör, for both dry and liquid things. For the former, the chomer contained 10 Efa, the latter 3 Saa, the latter 6 -Kafc, but the Efa was also divided into 10 Omer; the chomer was called Letech. For liquids, the Chomer contains 10 Bat, this presumably 6 Hin, the other 12 Log. The cubic content of these measures cannot actually be specified; however, Josephus and the Mishnah consider a Palestinian measure system of their time, which we know, to be identical with the "desert measure", and according to this the Chomer contained 259.2 liters, the Efa 25.92, the Saa 8.64, the Kab 1.44, and the Omer or Issaron to 2.59 liters; of the measures for liquids, the Bat gteichfatts 25.92, the Hin 4.32, the Log 0.36 liters.

## II.

I have a few remarks to make before describing the situation of the Palestinian Jews in these matters after the Exit. The knowledge of the amount of the sheket and of the the handet weights and from the ette of the pre-exit time would have

r

174

could still be present among the nactiexitisctien Jews, since the babytonian sheket had the same weight, and from its The atte Handetsgewi cht is a pretty good way to get to know the The exact size of the ette, however, was given in arm length and hand width.

would have been a knowledge of the pre-exilic Hohtmaass into the post-exilic period: would such masses have been taken into the Yertiananng and brought home again on their return? nor do I find anything in the returnees or in those who returned home that points to a hyperpatriotic disposition, to restore the Atte in such external matters as well. In addition, in view of the fact that the now minted and had become acquainted with the great advantages of its use: they made use of it, and according to Shecatim 2, 4 settisi to the religious temple tax of Dareiken and later other foreign coins. Thus the knowledge of the weight of the ancient sheket must have been completely forgotten, and this emerges to me irresistibly from the following: later on one did not know what was to be understood by the 20 gera of the sheket, and in Greek times referred them to othotes; furthermore, the only recorded minting of Jewish sitters' shekets, by Simon Mackabaeus, took place in Tyrian custody; and still later, when they were effectively used for religious reasons In the course of the first attempt to determine the weight of the atfen sheket, a wide variety of views emerged, which only agreed in attributing a greater weight to it than it could have had. It has already been pointed out that it is highly unlikely that the Attjödian high measures would have been known and used: The posthumous belief of being in possession of this >desert mass< is, however, also contradicted by the naively asserted "identity of the same with the itaticC as well as to some extent by the fact that one would not have shied away from using this 'urattem Maasso', the was in use for both cheerful and competitive matters, a thoroughgoing to introduce a different "Jerusatemer Maass", as was done. I therefore assume that in Palestine after the Exit and until the rule of the Pto-Tomaeans over Judea, the gods, weights and measures of the Babylonians and Hebrews were in smoke, as a result of which naturally the little that was left of these things in the memory of those who returned, was still preserved.

Sheket and Mine Sitbers were now with the Babytonians of the same weight and value as the Atthebrew ones, but their day

175

teit contained 6000 shekets, and was thus worth 5520 marks. - The weight of the Babytonians and Persians was also above two marks to the

According to the weight of their sit-berget, and according to this, the kt of the former were a weighted mnttipticate of their sctieket of just 5.1 grams, and their mines weighing 510 grams, but their tatente 30.6 kito. ■

-

There is almost no direct information about the height of the two peoples, and I can therefore only tell you what my research has shown me to be probable. The Babytonians had a corumaass and a mass of liquids, the contents of which corresponded to the weight of a Babytonian Tatent; but their size

and water (7 : 9) differed from each other: the grain measure contained 38.88 liters, the measure for liquids only 30.24. - According to Her. 1, 178, the Babytonian "Königsette" should have been three finger widths larger than the Attic Ette, according to which it was 520 centimeters. In the countries they conquered, the Persians continued to use their numismatic and metrological systems, but had their own, and the Persian coinage system found strong acceptance in all these countries alongside their native system, far less than the Persian weights and measures. Dareiks are usually understood to mean Attic Persian gold coins, but it also has Sitberdareiken (as called by Xenophon Sigtos) of about 6.47 grams, also in value of 98 pfennigs, and double given, as well as third and sixth of the single; the Persian Talent contains exactly 6000 Sitberdareiken. Persian Sitber coins of 12.75 grams, also worth 2.30 marks, have also been found; but since they do not fit into the Persian Getds system at all, whereas exactly 2 2/3 a babytonian sheket they appear to be of Babylonian-Persian origin. The gold coins we have received weigh an average of 8.38 grams, and calculated the value of the gold at 13 times the sitber, they were worth 19.63 marks; the fact that they were worth considerably less among the Greeks was only due to the fact that the price of gold fell sharply among them. The Persians also had double the amount of gold and a tenth of the amount of silver. - According to their sitberdareikos, their stone weights were multiples of 5.47 grams, and their talents amounted to 32.82 kilos; nothing is known of their middle weights. - To the grain mass they had the medisch Artabe of 51.84 liters, and 42 of these species were called an achane; for liquids, a water, the content of which was equal in weight to their species of wheat, but "Jemgemäß" was only 40.32 liters. On the comparison of both nations

In addition, I may use a cup. The Persian ette would be very slightly larger than the babytonian one, it has been measured to be 525 - 530 centimeters in diameter.

m.

Notes I

esti

I

Having said that, a few words must also be said here about the Tyrian Getd. The Palestinian Jews must have been acquainted with it from ancient times, and after their return from the Exile they became so again in the Persian period.

NahbdisLh.itt and Handets\erbiiduug do not doubt this. The acquaintance with it in later times is even more evident from the fact that, as already mentioned, birnou Mackabaus adopted the Tyrian preservation for his sitberscheket.

weighed 14.56 grams, and was thus worth 2.62 marks; there were of which was minted by the fourth, so that a Tyrian drachma amounted to about 65 pfennigs. As time went on, the seta and drachma of the Tyrians became more and more expensive, and as the same thing happened to the Attic coinage, the Tyrian and Attic drachma had the value of the denarius in the first years of the imperial period.

Under and since Alexander the Great, however, Greek Getd nath Patästina, and many coins were minted there, presumably under his authority; there are Alexander coins of the Palestinian cities of Scythopotis, Acco, Sykaminos (Caifa), Strausthurm, Joppe and Askaton ei The coins were minted in the Attic coinage, initially in the same weight. They had drachms of about 4.36 grams, in the

worth 78 pfennigs, as well as four-drachmen pieces, called statereu, and six drachines, called oboteu; the mine is known to contain 100 drachmas, the talent 60000 worth 4680 marks. The

Under Alexander the gold coin weighed an average of 8.57 grams, and since the gold to silver was now 12:1 or even lower, it was worth at most 18.53 marks; there were also half and double, the whole was called goldstater, but the half was called goldhalfachme. When, as already mentioned, the Attic silver drachms were later minted at ever lower values, down to 3.41 grams, and the gold coins accordingly, their value was naturally lower; and this was even more the case with the gold coins of the East, when the gold even began to be used by the Greeks.

only ten times the value of the Silver. In the end, the

Greeks a copper muiza, called Cbatkus, itorüu 8 went on deu Obot, and which also was worth about 1/4 a Pfennig.

In this Macedonian period, swarsohei and Egyptian goods may have come frequently to Palestine and been consigned there, not so much due to the incoming temple tax and by way of the handet, but also far the Ptolemians a century tang and, after them, the Seleucids were seen for some time over Palestine and armies like officials had there. These rulers also had coins in Palestine and had their own cups in Stratonsturm, Joppe, Diospolis (Lydda) Gaza and other cities. However, both types of currency in Palestine were the Attic macedoni. The Syrian drachma, weighing an average of 4.21 grams, amounted to about 76 pfennigs, and the more common Syrian coins we received were

Tyrian coinage; and the fact that, despite this, the Attic talent was only 1/3 of the Tyrian was not due to a small number of the coins there. - In Egypt, the drachma weighed only about 3.49 grams in the Bertheion. The double drachma there weighed only a few more than the double Athenian drachmas had the same weight with the Sicilians, also (at 12 : 1) worth 7.56 marks, as well as heavy octa drachms of 'Goths', worth over 60 marks. In Roman times the weight of the Ptolemaic Sicel talent was equal to that of the Attic Sicel talent, quite similar, but at a distance, of course, even more so because of its small size.

The measurements and weights of the Babylonians mentioned above were also preserved in the Macedonian period in the Palestinian territory. but next to it, however, a photographic Greek entrance has now been found. The Euboean-Attic weight was based on the fact that the standard Attic drachma weighed about 4.36 grams: according to this, the Attic mine was 436 grams, the Attic talent 26.16 kito; whether the fact that I can't say whether the Attic drachma became more and more expensive, or whether it may have influenced the weight of the currency. The Attic currency for dry goods corresponded to the medimnos,

Levy, in the book already cited on pp. 24 and 26, also counts Sozusa and Apotonia among the Palestinian places in which Macedonian coins were struck: I suspect that this is a mistake, for a Palestinian city of Sozusa is completely unknown elsewhere, and cities with the name Apotonia were counted in the Attica above Üwauzig, on the coast of Cyrene day but an Apotonia with the surname Sozusa!

12

J

178

the most common measure for grain, quite the Rhaetian type of 51.84 liters. It contained 6 hektois, 48 choenix and 96 xestis, 192 kotylos; the kotyle, however, was attributed to 6 and 8 kyathos respectively, and in the latter case the stone kyathos may be meant, of which we are talking about too much. For liquids, the largest Attic measure was the metretres of 38.88 liters; it contained 12 Chous, 72 Xestis, 144 Kotylos, and the liquid cotyle contained 2 Tetarten (Xestesviertel) , 4 Oxyhaphen, 6 Kyathos. The xestes indicated that the cotyle was large for dry and liquid things. - The Attic tetra was 462 centimeters, the little-used Attic pygus "U of this.

Batd after the Palestinian Jews knew the Greek Getd they liked to refer the 20 of the atten sheket to oboten -^" "'i according to which this sheket should have weighed S'/a Attic drachma] -^^™ and atso 14.56 grams; something to compensate nder" ^

The only reason for this common interpretation is the fact that the known ty- ~^^ risctie Seta had exactly the same weight. Therefore, when Simon Macka- - ^^^'. bäus received the coin, he gave his seta this weight, unc^^^ -^^ the seta was therefore worth about 2.62 marks; he also had this seta.

Nothing is known of god coins there, but of copper ties -a'=s- -^^

He minted many different types of coins, first of all those he called 't'C^' as well as hats and quarts. A copper shekw/ -t ^ I dessetben received by us has the significant weight of 34.43 grams, and in terms of - C"

Considering that the price of copper to silver in ancient times was 1 : 48^60 <30j, it had not the value of a maa or the 24th part of its ^T

Sitberscheket , atso of about 11 Pfg. ; his copper 'Hatben and " ^

Viertet" must have had the corresponding value, and that their "j

The fact that the weight does not correspond to this (two surviving examples of the hatben weigh 16.3 and 13.9 grams, the fourth weighs 10.7 - -9.2 grams) is due to the fact that the copper coins were minted very imprecisely, both now and later. However, there are also copper coins from Simon Mackahäus from 7 - 4.37 grams downwards, and from the photographic

Mackabaern sotche in the most varied weight ranges from j 14.2 to even 0.7 grams, according to which it seems to me that maut batd had switched to giving the Kupferscheket the weight of the Sitbei^ scheket; however, this new copper coinage system has not yet been brought to light. However, while Herod

and the Herodians, as we shall see later, no Jewish coins have been found from the period between the death of Simon and the revolt under Nero;

This does not seem to be coincidental, but that they were not minted at all, and the reason for this was that there was a sufficient quantity of Syrian, Egyptian, and finally even Roman silver in Judea, whereas there was a lack of foreign

The company will have lacked a supply of copper, as this is often brought in from abroad at times.

However, it seems to date back to this Mackabean period or even earlier. not a few metrological aspects that we will only encounter in much later times. Some of this can be seen in our quotes as follows ;strongly intertwined with the Roman Getd and Maass system that I <^s can only be represented in connection with these. Here I add "iof btos a "Jewish mineC mentioned in ant. 14, 7, 1, weighing ^i ^/b Roman pounds, atso 820 grams; it seems to be of real Jewish



^eit is found, also corresponds to the so-called >Jerusatemer  
Maass" ^snz, and that its corresponding act probably  
"v^ie the bibtic contains only 30 such mines (see my "metro-  
togische Voruntersuchungen" 2, 92). The stone weights, which also  
"itäeser mine could not have been missing, must therefore have been  
Muttiplicatc "N^ "n 8.2 grams.

Under the Romans, Roman Getd came to Palestine, and  
Üire Kaiser also minted sotches there. The main sitber coin  
<X "r Romans was the denarius, and atterdings were already used under the  
C^ "sten Kaisern began to shape it more and more de- C^ ehmeud hisu  
Sitbergehatt to reduce: but both experienced under ^^^ero still so  
massive that I its Normatdenar of 3.41 grams  
The following information is based on this, as far as it goes. ^^r  
was worth about 61 pfg. and the hatbe Deuar was called Quinai-ius, the  
^N^iertetsdenar Sestertius, but the latter was only minted ia ^t^upfer  
since Augustus. The coins of the gods also became more and more dense,  
but the ^^^■ureas of Nero still weighed 7.45 grams, and like C  
"Caeistens later, the aureus weighed 25 denarii, or 15.26 marks; CCaan  
also had some of these. The Roman copper coins were  
CÜctit according to their meta value, and were therefore, so to speak

ISO

sjmbotisfhe coins ; the normative among them was the As, au Wertti  
now the 16th Tbeit of the denarius; and furthermore one minted  
pieces of  
4 As (Sestertius) , of 3 As (Tressis) , of 2 As (DuponJius) , of '/" As  
(Serai), and of 'U As (Quadrans); this smallest Roman copper coin was  
worth not quite 1 pfennigi the largest (the Sestertius)  
About 15 pfennigs. As already mentioned, Roman money was now also being  
traded in Palestine, apparently only by Kujfer and Waitheits on the names  
of the Roman rulers, theits vuu Iteiodes and the ancient Iterodians.

The coins were of a different kind wet he ta the under Nero  
The riots of the Jews' rebellions were characterized by rebellions  
and authorities. Of these, vitheine had been received in the  
weights of 13.85 - 13.18 as well as 3.2 and 3 1 bramm whose  
former un-  
sdoim (the ketuhot jer. 1, 2 mentioned "Jeiusatemer setaimC) with an  
average value of 2.43 maik were the tertzter teichte Viertet itersettien.  
Of these, the copper one of 33 4 grams, atso  
a maa, then some of 11.6, 11.4 and 10.8 grams, which I had for third  
of the maa, we will see that in Pa- tästina there was also a copper  
getdsystem, in which the maa was third of the maa.  
had; eudticti kteinere in anz&titigen gradations from 9.6 to 2.2 grams  
down, which has not yet been satisfactorily established by any numis-

kochba, Jewish coins do not appear to have been newly made, but rather Roman coins were overstruck by Silber and Kupfer böten, 80 clumsily freitich that their original coinage is still very recognizable ; one has coins of the Galla and other emperors from Vespasian to Hadrian, which were overstruck in this way. The geta from the first uprising was understandably not quite practicable later on, but the tiber was completely frowned upon by the Romans.

It is worth noting here that, given the proximity of Petraean Arabia and the commercial and political relations with it, it is natural that money often came from there to Palestine. The Arab dirham (drachma) was said to have been  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the Roman denarius, and the Arab gold dirhem was 25 times as much; the latter was therefore worth 43 pfennigs, the latter 10.67 marks.

## VI.

For the times that now followed, a few new coin denominations must first be given. Since the Tyrian drachm now had the same weight as the denarius, 4 denarii were issued under the seta

181

verstaaden; a little later, tetrach was also used for seta. Ats The "hatben Scheitel" was usually used as a hatben seta, but for the Jews the hatben seta became a kind of greeting coin, and they therefore used it as a tetea (the coin was a sign of the hin) and sctieket or tikta; it may also be related to this that in Gattitaa the seta contains only two denarii. The denarius, on the other hand is now often called mis, the etymon of which has not yet been determined, to expand also hard, i.e. quart, as the fourth of the seta; the hatben denar batd roba as the fourth of what is now called sheket  $\frac{1}{2}$  or atand batd tarpeik (TponawuiC i.e. vidoriatusC); the viertetdenai or sestertius rebia. The maa did not belong to the denats^stem at all, but was  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Tyrian drachma, but after tertzere was assigned to the Denarius became completely worthless, the maa constant for  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius, nod was called at h f ^ wetches word ermtht ti schte titt n 6 I e Maa was iamats the kte ns e S Ibermünze do h un er iiaof m P ura! verstan ma KujfergettCC tū0 De are uan te man ma et also to ve ten i a { o s hes pound) ndem man di on on that from d e he only 9f denarii was minted The r m see 0otd denar was now still ne töns za 5 ' ^ Ibor teuaren zuweten but to uu ^4 bere tinet nnd unte tag e nu 1 l ch no 1 we teren kte uen S hwanku (,en I e tatten Cotdd nare finte Ii n Mi hna unt Tat n u l n tit e paw ta egen there was damats n Patä na also c ne coin ta ka d zutot "e the eror erung 'i 69 u e ner metro

From the copper f, et de n d e er Ze t e the K ddusch n jor 1 1  
 two quite ve different sjsteme mtgethett whose two tes ch for the  
 ättere hit e nd darnm zner t o lead Namt ch after R Seh mou ben  
 Gamt ei haDe 1 e Maa ^ h os ot Q i zn 12 han 24 jk utot ent The f  
 emta tge naming of the three coins above is based on the origin  
 of the coinage and the Tbc tu g ies te ler schan n 2 pe tot mag  
 er t n Jn täa 1 nznge ommen  
 The fact that the n e w ct e m t of the

C W e Mom nn u 4 J0 az came a s f ur Dena ai  
 give n r unknown of the a pe k st Ketubot ß4 a zwe ma f r i a  
 en Denar e ktä t

☞ It mo h e d e? ti er stir that you A e Maa an h woht ütw a

8 Kupfe 1 gt H be egne en tern chon top zw ma daaa mai

Bpa e nh eh on emKifea ertsuneshei e nohs  
 become

I perwta of the second system happened quite undoubtedly. It has already  
 been conjectured p. 180 that this system had already been applied to  
 copper coins.

- of the riotC at Gruude; it amounted to 10.1 pfennigs in it,  
 each photographic coin had the corresponding theit of this, the peruta  
 about ''/ta pfg. In the second, there by R. Chija rcferirteu Getdsjstemu  
 the denarius was 6 Maa, and this had 2 pim Dion, 4 issar, 8 mesumis,  
 16 cordiontes, 32 perutot. But in note 32 I have tried to prove that  
 this is not a real getd system at all, but a standing cours. It would  
 appear that the Roman copper coin was now used in circulation, whereby  
 the older one was gradually superseded, although it has not been  
 completely banned; but that in the use of the Roman coin here two  
 modes occurred: 1) since the denarius and drachma were now of equal  
 value, one also reckoned on those 6 maa , and gteichwoht (from one of  
 the coins used in

the reasons stated in that note or for any other reason) to  
 2 Dupondien; 2) the need arose to also tiatbir the. Quadrans, and  
 therefore the peruta is retained from the older system at the value of a  
 single quadrans. The denarius noctK  
 at 61 pfennigs and the retained sitbermaa at 10.1 pfennigs. After  
 that, the dupondius (pondion) was worth about 5 pfennigs in  
 Palestine.

the Issar 2'/'", which is mentioned very often, the Serats t'/i, the Quadrans ^/^\n  
 The Sestertins is not mentioned by R. Chij ... and vcrmuthlich btieb  
 tange unknown in Patästina but it can be seen from Maaser scheiii jer.  
 4, 1 shows that s])ät^ was counted there just as widely after him, also  
 large sums, w - - -

which Rdmer liked to thateu, and then called him "Viertet" {of the denarius}).

The communication about the Getdarten in the atten Patastina break i

but from here, still some specieterc of them in the dorchtaufei^^ times  
and some things about the ever-increasing coin confusion of the s  
kendeu Rümerreichbes can be nachgete^ssf in the  
>Preuuutersuctiions<.

Under Roman rule, Palestine also received the (^^ wichtssjstem  
derseibeu. The Roman pound weighed 328 grams, -^b- the Jews  
called it mine, itatic mine and utra. One finds - them Hätften,  
Viertet and Drittet of the Iura mentioned; the Ketu^"-  
jer. 6, 10, the weight designation ritt (tem Vic=r :■ seems to have  
been given to this utra, as well as the third part of the same  
designation tratimar (from Tptxf||iopov). The -tudes also reckoned by  
donars for the smallest weights, and gave the <j^ weight of a denarius  
the designation sin, for '/b thereof nahmeo

JUd  
'm J

J

18fr

the term gramma. The centenarius , for weighing large quantities,  
was 100 Roman pounds or 32.8 kito.

The Pataestinian Jews adopted the ette of the Eomans, the cvhitus of  
gteichfatts seehs handbreadths, but still only 443 centimeters in  
length, and, when the foreign origin of the setben was forgotten, even  
took it for the Mosaic one; they also used the Roman patmipes of only 5  
handbreadths under the atten- native name gomed. But they still knew the  
Attic of 462 and the Egyptian of 453 centimeters, and therefore called  
this set 'the middleC.

Finally, as far as the Palestinian hohtraaasses at the time of Roman  
rule are concerned, the Attic hohtraaasses had not yet completely  
disappeared from use, but we mostly encounter completely different  
ones,

not the pure Roman ones, but the ones that emerged from the Roman and  
Biblical ones, the ones that were apparently formed independently from  
them. For the purpose of presenting them, I must begin with the Roman  
ones. The Romans contained

For liquids, the amphora contained 2 urns, 8 congies, 48 sextars,  
the sextar 2 hemina, 4 quarterias, 8 acetabutn, and 12 or 16  
cyatki; the cutem contained 20 amphorae. The amphora was 25.92  
liters, the sextar 0.54. The amphora was just as large for dry  
things,

The stone measures for dry and liquid things were the most common in terms of unity, naming and space. Instead of this Roman one, however, we now find three other systems of measure in Palestine, if this expression has become deaf, for in all three the subdivisions and names of the measures coincided with the Biblical ones.

According to the space they occupied, they were different from each other. The smallest of the two is considered to be the one that Moses "in the wilderness", and he explained it as "the itatic". Most metrologists considered it to be identical with the Roman one, but this is still very doubtful, as my "Vor- an tersnchungen " of 2, 68 shows; this is why the size of the "desert measure" can be deduced from the fact that the space of 6 hen's eggs is attributed to its log, which Va

of the Roman sextar. In this so-called Wttsten- maasse, as in the Biblical one: for dry things, the body

10 Efa, this 3 SaU, the Saa 6 Kab, the Kab 4 Log; for some dry things also of those sub-units of the Log which are to be sewn up for liquids, according to need

184

at least some of them would have been in use. There were also measures of 3, of IV2 and of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Kab; although the "Zehntet" (the Efa) was

still in use, but presumably btos in sacrificial service. The efa held 25.92 liters, the log 0.36, the contents of the other measures are easy to calculate from this. The body contained just enough for liquids.

10 Bat, the Bat 6 Hin, the Hin 12 Log, and one had measures of 1, 3, 4 and 6 Log; downwards one had from the Log Hätften, Viertet Eighth, sixteenth and sixty-fourth, presumably ats

also thirty-two liters. The Bat was' like the Efa 25.92 liters, the Hin 4.32, the Log again 0.36, and so downwards from the Log to the

the kteinsten were obviously only spoonfuls,  $\frac{1}{16}$  Log a larger-Löffet,  $\frac{1}{64}$  a kteiner: we harvested enough objects above d

The "desert mass", which must have been bought in the most stony measures and according to the weight of the denarius, was known to the Palestinian traffic at that time, liquid and even dry.

now, secondly, the Jerus breath is  $\frac{1}{2}$  larger than that, so that z. For example, the juice must have contained 10.37 instead of 8.64 liters. However, we basically know nothing more about him, because we(

Whether it was used to a greater or lesser extent at the time of the desert masses, and whether it was also in use outside Jerusatem and remained in use for a longer period of time, the few tabloid data from which its continued existence can be inferred.

could be shot, ktingen quite doctrinaire; but was sc:-

it can be erected. - Thirdly, the so-called  $Ms^{\wedge};$   
 System of Sepphoris, but which, according to individual tracks  $zvt$   
 theites, was presumably practiced throughout Gatita. According to  
 Tatmud's frequent  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$  statements, its dimensions would again be  $^{\wedge}U$   
 larger than  $<3Lie$

"Jerusatemer" and also  $^{\wedge}/25$  of the "desert masses": attair " $^{\wedge}$  iß my  
 "preliminary investigations" was hopefully sufficiently proven that  
 they amounted to much rather just  $^{\wedge}h$  of the desert masses, and in  
 di  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge$

C Of this system of measures btos two measures agreed with the Romani  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge^{\circ}$ ,  
 the Amphora contains like Efa and Bat 25.92 liters, and the Mc  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$  C  
 contains like the Saa 8.64; aHe measures downwards from this could even agree  
 ää  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge$  C $^{\wedge}$ , far the two systems differing subdivisions  $hö-K>^{\wedge}\wedge$   
 If in the Tatmudic identification of the "desert measure" with the itatiC  $^{\wedge}\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$  C $^{\wedge}$   
 If the latter was to be understood as the Roman one, this could only have been  
 done in the sense that the large dimensions of both systems correspond.

185

Fatte's Efa and Bat both contained 38.88 liters, their log 0.54, had  
 the corresponding volume. It is noteworthy that 1) the sepphoric ephah  
 corresponded exactly to the babytonic artabe, 2) the sepphoric measure  
 for liquids, which was identical to the Attic measure for liquids, i.e.  
 the bat to the metretes, and 3) the sepphoric log corresponded exactly  
 to the Roman sextar. There are also two other measures from Sepphoris,  
 which are even larger  
 are mentioned in the Tatmud, vergt. 2, 46 and 80 of my -  
 preliminary investigationsC, but dai'f I woht skip them here.

Second contribution.

From the prices of the most important handet items in this  
 period, and some related atte news.

First of all, it should be noted from the first contribution that  
 the sitberscheket down to the exit at 92 pfennigs, the Attic drachma at  
 78 pfennigs, and the dciiar at 61 pfennigs aanebmo. Consideration  
 We are now looking at the price of some foods.

From wheat cost to Pea 8, 7. Embin 8, 2. Taanit 19, b



Denarius. According to B. batra 91, b, this was already considered to be a bit expensive, but according to ib. 91, a, two Saa in one Seta were already considered to be a significant expense, and Taanit 19, b is all the more rightly considered to be a time of scarcity if the Saa was already to be paid with one Seta. That Tos. B. mezia c. 6 is hypothetically from a body (30 Saa) of unharvested wheat for one godddenar (25 denarii), according to which the Saa cost only  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius, it need not be inferred from this that the price was reduced because of the effort still required for mowing and threshing; for

r

t

186

aucti n. mezia 5, 1 speaks of the rising of a grain of wheat von 25 Deuars at 30, according to which the Saa before gtei "hfatts stood at only  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarii. Aaf the hypothetical pond settlement Tos. B. raezia e. 4 of a hundred denarii with 20 Saa wheat is difficult to tegenich weight; even less to the hypothetical assumption ib. c. 6 of a grain by one seta, such a large variation certainly never occurred. -

The price of fine wheat flour fluctuated, according to Shekatim 4, 9 3 - 4 Saa for 4 denarii, and it was also aaffattenderderweise almost not thenrer ats wheat seihst ; and if despite the greater Wohlfahrt of the atterten time 2 Köii. 7, 1 the Saa of it is called a sheket, which carried  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarii, the abnormal conditions at that time must have been the cause. We saw earlier that the

Saa for two denarii already for significantly ttieuer gatt: attein in large Theuerung cost amat after ant, 3, 15, 3 the Issaron (C/io Saa) 4 denardrachms, also the Saa ISVa denarii; and according to ib. 14, 2, 2 once the (itatic) modius 11 denardrachmon , also the Saa of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a sotchen Modien even 16Va denarii, after which the visionary theuerung Apokat. "b, 6 of a denarius for the Choinis i.e. of 8 denarii for the Modins would not have been the Acuss first. The on Pca 8, 7 of a loaf of bread zn a pondion (via denarius), Rabba 1, 49 of a sotchen zu 10 Fottaren (vemiuthlich  $\frac{1}{2}$  C Deuar), and Tos. Demaj c. B of a coarse loaf at one Issar ( $\frac{1}{2}$  C Denar) cups total weight lacking indication of size or weight

dersetben does not allow any comparison. (According to Ptutarch in Soton K. 23, in Soton's time in Athens, Medimnos wheat cost one drachma, according to which

the inhatt of a saa would not yet have cost C/C denarii. But already in Ai-istophanes in the Ecct. 545, the Hecteus appears at 3 obots, which for the gteichgrosse Saa yields about  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarii; and in

Demosthenes' time the Medimnos cost 5 drachmas, which for the Saa

This later increase in the price of wheat is shown by Itatia ; according to Ptin, 18, 4, the modius cost the ancient Romans, while the Desert was only one as [damats ^/to denarius]; but already by Cicero against Verres 3, 75 the Modius was C/i denarii, and we find the same price in Tacitus' Annates 15, 39; indeed, the law of Valentinianus III of 446 still speaks of 40 modie for a god denarius, according to which the modius cost ^/b denarius. A statue was also erected to a kufn in the Eaiser period for lowering the modius to a denarius during a renewal, see

187

Griiter. 434, 1.) - But if, according to the above, the standard price of a Wüstensaa (8.64 liters) was one denarius, then the previous Prussian Scheffet of almost 55 liters would have cost 3.88 marks, which is such a high price for those times, that wheat can not have been the usual food of the poor, insofar as they did not grow their wheat themselves.

Barley is mentioned in 2 Kings 7:1: 2 Saa to a sheket; more useful is the attribution of barley to the price of wheat, with which Potybius 1, 15 fully agrees, but its Apocat. 6, 6 is only attributed to ^/s of the same.

Cattle. According to Menachot, the standard price of an ox seems to be 13, 8 not to have been vott a mine (100 denarii); dock is B. kamma 3, 9 speaks of one and two mines for a sotchen, whereby one should not think of an unusually large or a fattened ox, although it is added that one worth two mines could still be worth 50 denarii after it died unharmed. Similarly, a cow Tos. Shekatim c. 2 at" 100, Tos. Arachin c. 4 is reckoned at 200 denarii, and therefore in the related Angabo B. mezia jer. 4, 1 the eight benars are not to be understood as God's denarii, which came to 300 sitberdenarii. However, a knti of only 30 denarii is estimated there 69, b. But that ' Tos. B. kamma c. 3 of an ox worth 400 and of 800 denarii, Chuttin 5, 4 even speaks hypothetically of one at 1000 denarii, may be a gross hyperbole. In David's time these animals naturally cost much less, for according to 2 Sam. 24, 24 he bought a threshing floor and >cattle" {at least two) together with their implements for 60 sheketh, which amounted to about 75 denarii; and the chronicler has wrongly attributed 1, 21, 25, far the might have seemed too little to him, but he set 600 Seheke! in that he presumably considered the 60 ats goddscheket to be of twelve times greater value. (But one could hardly believe that, according to Ptutarch in the Seton

K. 23 in Athens at whose time the ox cost only five drachmas, in Pontus according to Appian in the Mitbridat K. 78 once even only one drachma). - The standard price of a catbe appears in Menachot 13, 8

to 100 Gotddenaren, according to which each would have cost 25 Sitberdenaro.  
- According to Menachot 13:8, the price of a ram was not quite two seta or eight denarii, but according to Keritut 5, 2 volte two seta. Whoever wanted to have this information for werthtos, far it btos from 3 Mos,

'-I

w^i

I

188

5, 15, where the widiier is standardized to two st^heket, consider on the other hand that according to Keritut 6, 6 the ram is also a seta, zn-fareu 2 nnd 2^/a, and that Tos. Keritut c. 4 speaks of a ram, which at first was worth one seta, but after its fattening was worth two. Only then one sees nictit one, as on amat Tos. B. mezia c. 6 also of 100 sheep to 100 godd- donars, nnd ib. c. 6 even of 100 God's denarii could already be spoken of for the vties of the setben, so that a sheep or even only its wotte could be worth 25 denarii 1 or there sheep of

According to Shabbat 54, a, care was taken to raise a fine wotte and certainly ermaasseu "a mitesian". The sheep that is not yet a year old appears Menachot 13, 8

to not quite a seta, whereas Shekatim 2, 4 the not yet one-year-old of sheep and goat at 1 - 3 seta, and Tos. Keritut c. 4 at 5, at 4, at 2 denarii, presumably according to the degree of its development. According to Chagiga 1, 2 and Bechorot 11, a', a lamb of sheep and goat could be had for '/e denarii. (In Athens, according to Ptutarch ib.

In Soton'a time the sheep cost only one drachma, but later so much more that Böckh quotes 10 drachmas for a sheep sacrifice there.

In general, the Greeks considered the sheep '/b of the price of the ox, only '/to the Romans). - The titra {of 328 grams) Fteisch appears Rabba 1, 49 in the price of 10 Fottaren or ^U De- nar, but what kind of Fteisch is meant is not stated.

(In an edict of Diocletian, the pound of beef is standardized at eight copper (tenars, i.e. at C/a denarius, The aforementioned law of Valentinian sets the godddenar at 270 pounds of fish, in which but presumably a mistake, as this would result in about ^/ii denarii for the pound nnr).

According to Keritut 1:7, the pair of doves was once part of the enormous

fewer pigeon sacrifices are to be brought, it is a sithcr- denary, vergt. the > preliminary investigations - 1, 59 - According to Matth. 10, 29 and Luk. 12, 6 two spertings cost one Issar, five of the same cost two Issars; the Issar was at 2'ti Pfg.

Maaserot 2, 6. 6 is said for example: 5, 10 and 20 figs for an Issar, but thatsächtich reported of only 3 or 4 sotchen for an Issar. Desgteichen ib. 2, 6 for example: 1 and 2 grapes^ pomegranates, metons fttr one Issar; but Metta 6,4 is ni^-^ a peruta ('/s Issar) for the pomegranate fetus, as well as 1 "^i 2 peruta for one etrog. The details Tos. Schebüt c. 6:

Barrels of FrüeLteu around a denarius, a body of itavon around a tressis (3 Äs, about ttVa Pfg.) are to be nndetermined.

The statement Ab. sara 34, b, a Xestes wine has four loma cost, a Xestes murais (prepared fish take) a loma, gives us no information, since the value of this coin has not yet been determined. is. But according to Babba 1, 49, a xestes wine cost 10 fottars or VC denarii, and xestes here means the Roman sextar of 0.54 liters is to be understood. On the other hand, in that law of Vatentinian, 200 sestars of wine are calculated at one godddenar, thus the sextar nnr at '/s denarii. Incidentally, only the most common type of wine for drinking is certainly included in all these data, not an excellent one. meant; the good tA ones were naturally very different in price.

Of Otivenöt were near bedt Jud 2 21 , 2 once in the ötreichen Gahiäa \ier Ämihoreus bought for a Finnish seta. It is doubtful whether Josephus meant by Ampboreus the Attic metretes of 38.88 liters or the Roman amphora containing only ^/s of d i 25 92 liters, but even in the latter case (for the denarius 25.92 liters) the price can only be explained by the fact that the harvest of that year was an unusually good one,ute, as Josephus added, for in his vita § 13 he tells of an oetcint anfe in the gatitiLic Gischata at 4 denardrachms for 80 Xesten and provided again that under Xestes he found the Roman sextar of 54 litei Drf,ab that for the denarius only 10,8 IJter Gut at er agrees with P mezia jer. 4, 2, where the Itede of 100 gartin {Schtauchen) is 10 denarii, and if we use Terumot 10, 8 the grave two Saa i.e. 48 Log

If we were to ascribe 480 logs to the denarius, we would have received 480 logs, which is quite unthinkable even if we think of the kteine Wöstentog, since 480 of this correspond to 172.8 liters. However, if one understands this to be sepphoric, as the speaker R. Jose

was a Gatitary, and .furthermore among the 10 Deuars Gotddeuare as so often, so for them, i.e. for 260 sitbeidenare, one obtains 4800 i.e. for the denarius 19'/j sepphoiisihe tog wetche corresponded to the Roman sestars vott- kommen and this is sufficiently consistent with that price

in GiSLhata \on 20 sextaien for the denarius, whereas the sales -

to be considered far "iic btos of the circumstances at that time were quite un{,ewthntich high in the first set of the set, the 1 was sold to Syrian Jews by ti'i eightfold,  
"eiche wottten sich des Ottes \on Heiten um jeden Preis abstaten;

and in the second, in the aged C&sarea Phitippi, the kosher Oet was on the tenfathen I'rcis j

J

Defense pieces. A shirt comes Schebiit jer. 8, 7 and Tos. Sctiebiit c. 6 to 4 denareu before. Tos. B. mezia c. 3 to 5 denarii; but there were also viet theurcre, so Meita 6, 4 to a hatben and whole godddenar. According to MoSd katan 27, h, a vietteicht shirt-like hänfenes Unterkteid was available for one denarius. - A xattis  
Metta 6, 4 is mentioned at the price of 12 denarii, whereas Tos. Arachin c, 4 at 20, and Tos. Shekatim c, 2 even at 50 denarii. We find Tos. B. mezia c. 7 eight denarii; and since B. mesda jor. 6, 1 mentions the setbe wage for the weaving of a heged, it must also be understood to mean the tatus. However, Kitayim jcr, 9, 1 already mentions a beged at TU denarii, for that under the 30 ribbo dinar sestertia there, was demonstrated in the - preliminary investigationsC 1, 71. 72, (The Upper Cteid of the Greeks was similar, and according to Aristophanes Ecct. 412 an ordinary one cost 16 drachmas, according to his Ptutos V. 978 an advanced one 20, atso about 20C/2 resp. 25'/a denarii; ib. V. 979 a pair of good shoes is calculated at 8 drachmas) - According to B. kamma 119, a good hood cost 4 - 5 denai-e. - Under Icesüi is woht the whole garment, and according to Arachin 6, 6, even a sctave received one of 30 denarii, according to which it does not seem obvious that Mechitta mischpatim par. 19 has one of 100 and even one of 200 denarii as nothing special. Of course, there were also many more precious garments at that time, several examples of which have already been mentioned p. 111. The most expensive clothes and the fabrics used for clothing were those made of fine wool, of durable byssus and of silk; doubly so, however, were jones wottenen, if they were also purple in color. Real silk, as has already been mentioned, must have been weighed with gold even in Auretian's time. And according to Ptin. 9, 63, shortly before Augustus a Roman pound (328 grams) of purple wool cost 100 denarii; a sotchtes pound of 'doppettgeiUrbter" tyrian wotte, however, had not yet been available for a thousand denarii, later it had come more easily into the hand - what with atter hope of the noble

Eömer of his time presupposes that it was much more widely used. X)he tongued purple socks, which were used at some of the Jewish Cuttus ceremonies, were according to Joma jer. 4, 2 per tiach of the antasse (atso woht depending on their size) cost at least 4 denarii, tiatd a scietket, at least 8 or 10 denarii. In the B. j4.ngabe jer. 9, 5, that red-dyed wotte was only a "fourth more expensive than black-dyed, the purple color cannot be

According to Ptin, 12, 54, the batsam juice cost twice the weight of Sitber, but it is hardly true that he later says there: the I "omish fiscus, who had seized this Judean article from Regat, had sold the sextar of it (0.54 liters) for 300 denarii, tand in the resale it had been sold for 1000 denarii;

A batsam setting cost 700 sestertii (175 denarii), and even from the glacial acetic acid, from which you can make a free ;scht win real batsam, the pound will be 5 denarii "tie zahtt.

It has already been mentioned that the nar den satbe was used by the Palestinian Jews and that the utra cost 300 denarii, and that it consisted mainly of narden juice, but also contained costum, amomum, myrrh, batsam and other ingredients.

"■were mixed in. Since these and similar substances were also used elsewhere "were used, so the prices at that time may be extrapolated from Ptinus.

He himself says 33, 57 of his price quotations, "that the prices fluctuate continually according to circumstances and conjunctures, but that he only wanted to indicate what these things would usually have cost in Rome at his time". We may not assume this,

"That they were noticeably better in Palestine after all. Further It should be noted that Ptinus used leaves, hay, grapes and so on. which these aromatic essences were deeply rooted in and, often as drugs, came into the trade, but not always distinguished them from the essences themselves; at least he "gives us an approximate knowledge of their price. Again

"ei only that his statements refer to Roman pounds of 328 grams and are expressed in denarii (of 61 pfennigs). ^T indicates atso:

12, 26 for Indian nard 50 - 75 denarii, first stand dio Syrian,

- spica nardi (ach iNiotet vmt voaKoritui 6, a) 100 denarii;

12, 25 for costum 6 denarii;^

12, 28 " Grapes of the Indian amomum 60 denarii, for the crushed  
48;

12, 29 " Cardamomum 12 denarii:

12, 35 " the myrrh produced by setbstiesseude 13 - 40 denarii,  
for other varieties dersetben 11 - 16;

12, 32 " Incense 3-6 denarii;

12, 43 " Kassia 5 - 50, for the related I s o c i n n a m o n 300  
denarii;

12, 46 " Myrobatanum 2 denarii;

12, 37 " the best ladanum 2^2 denarii;

12, 14 " Ingber 6 denarii;

ib. of Indian pepper there were three kinds: the btasse  
and hottest cost 15, the mitdere black 4,  
the middle white 7 denarii;

12, 42 Zimmt sott once cost 1000 denarii, later

it was much more expensive, but even its most  
expensive variety was paid for with 10 denarii;

13, 2 a carpentry satin, but many other ingredients were used  
to make it, 25 - 300  
Denarii ;

12, 63 the spurious Syrian cinnamum 2V2 denarii;  
12, 48 catmus 11-15 denarii.

Ptinus also gives the price of some of the other articles  
mentioned above:

12, 56 Gatban 5 denarii;

12, 51 Cyperbtüthen 5 denarii;

13, 20 rubber 3 denarii;

33, 40 the maximum price of 17V2 denarii was set for the  
colorant minium;



33, 57 the Egyptian and Indian Btau cost 8, the Spanish

6 denarii;

35, 27 Indigo 10 denarii.

Furthermore, after Rosh Hashanah 23, a corattas were paid with the double weight of Sitber. - Gas goods were already as now of quite extraordinarily different prices, for Strabo relates in the 16th book that in Rome a bowl and a small drinking vessel of crystalline gas could be had for a chatkus (barely 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pf.), while Ptinius 36, 66 from Nero's time speaks of two

193

taiässiggross Ftügettiekheii from Gtas reported, which were t "anft for 1500 denarii! natürticti but tierrschten with these either completely or "3octi for the most part imported devices these t\0toBsaten Pieis "ntersfbiede also in Patästina, and this I find confirmed by the fact that ^ncti Beractiot 31, a and Cuttin 84, b testify to the very high price of white otase, while according to Tos. Pea c. 4 Gtasgeiäthe wohtfeiter o,ts ' were copper, and also the S. IS'i's opinions about dio "neatly concealed in the use of the I atäbtuuen^iei at that time ^ne große Wohtfeitheit dersetben.

As for the price of sktaven, in the earliest times Joseph uacti Gen 37:28 was sold for 20 sheket (to 18.40 marks) cüoch^ already 2 Mos. 21, 32 appear 30 Scbeket ats Mittetpieis ab Sktaven like a sktaviu, and 3 Mos. 27, 3. 4 seems to fcernheD that later the normat price of a sktaven was 50 of a sktavin 30 sheket. That one after B. kamma 4, 5 ats damages for the killing of a sktaven or a sktaviu had to give 30 seta (to 73, 20 marks) throughout, does not deafen a shot to the value of the kings, since the pentateuchal approach is used for this. "^on 30 ScLeket and in these erroneously 30 Seta eibtickte Doch erscheinen dort 100 Denare (au 61 Marks) schon ats Beispieliet ^of a high price, whereas according to B, batra 127, b this price is not ■:ingewöh "ticU was, and Araehiii 6, 5 tesen wir, dass ein hei ausgeputzter Sktave teichtttich 100 Denare mehr werth erseheine (Nath Böcki ■Vi'ar in Athens the price of a sktaven for ordinary 100 - 200 drachmas [78-156 Marks]. Naturally, however, it was also according to skill "and other individuality of the same, but also according to the apparent excess or lack thereof, their price varies greatly. Thus According to Xenophon'a Memorabitia 2, 5, 2 between 50 Drach-Knen and the 20rachen of this; and ant. 12, 4, 9 even sktaven and young sktavenesses appear, which are read out as a gift to the king, at the price of a tatent. On the other hand, according to 2 Mack. fä, 11, the fat lord Nikauor, expecting to take prisoners en masse, offered 90 sktaves in advance for a tatent; Ihuc. 8, 28 we find a mass of prisoners even for only one

"xan once in Pontus the made slaves to 4 drachmas tos.)

According to B. kappa, an Eset cost 10, 4 100-200 denarii. The Egyptian horses of 1 Kings 10, 29 cost 10

^ciieket the piece, about 226 donars; but in Athens in Aristo - X>iaues' time a good riding horse cost 12 mines (about 1534 denarii).

m.

I  
I

I have not found any price information on such mainiaften IIainteiss<esPii''tan(teii, and was therefore unable to estimate the contributions iier.

However, a knowledge of prices is only of value if it is augmented by an uigei knowledge of the current market value. Although this can be adequately determined on the basis of the reasons developed on p. 140 etc., iraraerhiii we come somewhat closer to this goal if we consider similar data of a non-mercantile nature. I will therefore take a few more photos. A fat that requires a chomer of barley for sowing seems to have had the value of 50 sheket in the Pentateuchal period according to Leviticus 27:16. Since Erubin 23. b for the sowing of a Saa a piece of fat of 50 Jewish shekels in length and width, a fetd of 50 sotche ettes in width and 1500 in length can be assumed for that of a Chomer. I give the bibtischeu ette, like the Egyptian, 453 centimeters, according to which a sottes fetd corresponded to almost 1.54 hectares; and assuming the Pentateuchal sheket at 92 pfennigs, the hectare comes to almost exactly 30 marks. (This includes note 33.) Viet ttieueror was of course wine! and, and according to Isa 7 23, the vineyard cost 1000 sheket of 1000 sticks. - Ketubot 4 13 houses would already have been worth 10 denarii given it is mii but - socht an siJi, atb also with Eücksüht on the not insignificant Miethpieis \on wetchem sogteich die Eede sein sott - ■ very wahraeheheintn,h that? there Godddenare, atso 250 denarii are meant Auuh then noth is thereby festzuhatten, that the houses are usually very small, as can be seen from Q batra 6. 4 can be seen in particular from the fact that only 453 meters have been allocated to the properties listed there.

of a Hauaas we find Tos B mezia c 4 1 - 4 denarii the month, on the other hand tb <. 8 awieas sodas'- in tertzter Stette must be the Itede of a large house Ats Miethe eines Hofes mentions B. raezia 5, 2 ten seta thei Yahi one seta the month, and ats monthly rent of a bath or woht iietmehr a bathing place in Sepphoris is given ib. 8 8 in the Gotddenar

There was actually no interest rate, as interest was forbidden, but it appears in Tos B mezia o. 5 and B. mezia 69, b<

Wheat for 200 denarii paid per year. According to the customary pieiae of wheat found above.

^^%)enar, were the 30 Proceut 1 attein in Athens iud Rome, interest rates were often just as high and even higher. However, the ib. gehrandraarkte >

The interest of a peruta tagtieh of one denarius {but 184 proc) is only dnrcti the insignificance of the loan somewhat more erktärtiger.

Daily wages. According to Matth. 20, 2 a laborer in the vineyard receives berge tagtich a denarius, and according to Eahba 1, 61 this was the attge- my daily wage. The same explanation is also found in Megittat taanit c. 3, and here a seta ats Tagetohn is given, but oifenbar with the same unreciit as in Tos. SctiebJit c. 6 a seta for the Tagetohu of a Äehrenteser. In Schebiit 8, 4 only one Issar (S'/s Pf.) is given as that of a herbalist, whereas Ab. sara 62, a (in a citation of this setben Misehna) and Schebiit jer. 8, 4 a De- nar - I doubt the correctness of both wage rates. According to Joma 35 , b Hiitet earned only one tarpetk or C/" denarius for his daily labor. (According to Lucian in Timon § 6, a Greek fat worker received 4 obots, i.e. 'U denarii; in contrast, in an edict of Diocletian, a daily wage of 25 copper denarii, of which 16 were a sitherdenarius, is set for tändtiche workers. According to Tacitus' annals 1. 17 the Roman sotdates demanded a denarius of daily sotdes). Natarticti, however, the daily wage was also different according to the degree of skill and usability, as for example the Tatmud in this "the gnrlenwüchter to the pertenbohrer", and Tos. B. mezia c. 6 speaks of a worker on the threshing floor who was offered a denarius for the day, although his daily labor was four wrths. It should also be mentioned that, according to Tob. 5, 14, Tobiah gave his son's companion the necessary maintenance and daily wages.

' ' "ine drachma; and that according to Bechorot 4, 5 for the priestly inspection of a piece of cattle 4 Issar, for that of a cow 6 Issar (10 or 15 Pf.) were to be given.

A series of various details can illustrate how little money was needed to cope with this. According to Joma 35, b Hiitet lived with his whole family on only 'U Denar (15 Pf.). Tos. Ketubot c. 4, the owner of 10 mines (610 marks) will be em- - Iifohten to be content with a pot of cabbage every day; whoever is <3he who owns the doublet may add a pan dish; the owner of 50 mines may allow himself a liter of fish weekly, the owner of 100 daily. According to Pea 8, 8. 9, no one should ■ 200 denarii (122 marks) or have a business with ö0 denarii liberate, on the three benefits of the Aehrentesen , the forgotten

^p

the minimum that the wife separated from her husband is entitled to. to be administered, testttttt : wöctienttich ä Kab wheat uder 4 Kat> barley, ^/s Kab peas, '/' t-og Oet, a Kab Ketrocttner figs nder a pound Feiconmasse; dann ein Rettgestett mit zwei Dcfkeu, ein Schteier, ein Gartet; zu jedem der drei Feste ein Paar Schübe, jährtidi für 50 Denare (30Vb MarkC) Kteider, und schtiesstich eine Maa (an 10 Pf.) wöthenttidi for other needs! (The kteinen variants tiivon in Tos. Kctutiot c. 5 and Ketubot jer. 5, 10 I pass over). According to Tos. Ketubot c. 6, the ^ittwe sauimt gave her daughters 4 denarii (2.44 marks) for their maintenance! According to Ketubot G, 5 anyone who married a daughter without having "previously determined her dowry had to give her 60 deuars for this purpose, and according to Tos. Ketubot c. 6 would have B, Yehudah even reduced this to 20 denarii (Y2.20 marks), in which one would have paid a whole dowry in earlier times. 1 Obviously, in the poorer classes, simplicity must have been even more important than the cheapness of the most necessary consumer goods. Correspondingly, the husband's smallest counterpart was 200 or 100 denarii (122 and' 61 marks) standardized, depending on whether he married a virgin or a widow. hoirathet had. Furthermore, in the parabet Luk. 10, 35, 2 denarii were given back for the price of a scbwerTer! But the statement in Meüa 6, 3 that lights could be bought for a peruta {'U Pf.) for itätfte, and wicks for Hätfte, is nevertheless incomprehensible, and I suspect that peruta is a misnomer. However, coins of such extraordinarily low value in general The fact that Rome had such a high level of poverty as the Peruta is only explained by the extraordinary affluence of the most common necessities of life and the great poverty of the lowest classes. (By the way, Cavedoni's biblical numismatics from Werthof 1, 155 provides us with the information that in Rome at the time of Cicero the monthly salary of a boy was 4-5 denarii, that of a girl 3-4. 1 and that the Roman sctaves received 4 - 5 modie rn and 5 denarii baai' per month, from which they paid for their clothing and atte 3 Igen needs and after six yearsu still 8 to buy them).

Sterin"°C- ß5, b witt Abaji hierunter gar Provin/iatdenare vou acuum -

~Hnrect t i ^' ^' ^' ^' understand, but woht with Uirectit; and certainly with the same "3er Au ""^ "ptet er ib. 67, a dies von iteii gteici zu erwähnenden 50 Denareo

Schtiesstich, the amount of some fines is also given. According to B. kamma 8, 6 a Faustschlag would be 4 denarii but R. Jose the Gatitary had imposed 100 for this, 200 for a cheek stroke, and 400 for a satchen with the back of the hand; this would also have been imposed on anyone who had plucked someone's nose, tugged at their hair, spit on them, pulled off their tattis, or publicly cut off a woman's panties. According to ib. 36, b, it was later decided that this refers to the "provincial law" of eight times less value, and the example of the "wicked" Chanan mentioned in the covenant shows this, that the punishment was so severe: but this was not the opinion of the Mishnah, it was only an afterthought. If the defendants were respected persons, they were punished even more severely, e.g. according to B. kamma jer. 8", 8 Resh-takish punished someone who had offended R. Yehuda bar Chanina with a litra of God! The significant severity of these punishments cannot overturn the view gained of the high value of the time, but only proves how emphatically every person was protected against mistreatment. and defense. A completely different kind of punishment can be found in Ketubot 5, 7.

Third section.

Further activity of the Jews outside Palestine, Ms about 100 A.D. Chr.

Etftes Kapitet.

"Wetche Vri'breitiiJig der jüdische Stamm bis dahiü bereits gcfuiiitcii tiatje, und was iu mercaiititer Einsictit hieraus resuttire.

§ 50.

In §§ 15 - 17 it was sought to determine in which foreign countries masses and small clusters of Jews had already been present up to the end of the Babylonian period. Its more distant spread cannot be traced step by step, there is also a lack of information about it, although we have some scanty information about Jews in Egypt since Alexander M. and in Syria since the first Septuagint. As far as other countries are concerned, this lack is for the first time somewhat reduced by 1 Mack. 15, 22. 23, we learn from it quite a number of countries and cities, in which already around

The geographic information about this is somewhat more frequent, and those from which it can be seen to some extent how far this spread had progressed by the time of the destruction of the temple or by the end of the first Christian century, are on the one hand cited and on the other hand discussed in Note 34. By now describing the former residence of the foreign

I

Jews, as far as we know them from these communications, I exclude those eastern seats that have already been sufficiently mentioned above.

I'll start with Phoenicia. Already in the Babytonian Exift Jews moved there, and a much larger number of them settled there after the death of Atexander M.; but without doubt this also happened later, and in particular we find them living in Tyre, Sidon and Arados even before the time limit was drawn. - There were also Jews in the rest of Syria, and those in Cotesyria are mentioned in particular. In the capital Antioch as well as in Seteucia, Apamea and Laodicea They had been living by the sea since Seteukus Nikator," in Laodicea at Antitibanus we find them later; in Da-| maskus under Nero btos the number of Jewish men amounted to " 100000C, and in Patmyra, according to Josephus they were very numerous in almost every Syrian city. - Exoteric prophets already spoke of Jews in northern Cteinasia; and in his time Phito says that they were present in most parts of Cteinasia as far as Bithymia and the innermost corners of the Yon Pontus lived. In fact, we find them in at least four main areas. Southwards in Citicia and uamenS' tieh in its capital Tarsos, in Pampbytia and in the city of Side there, in Lycia and in the Tycian city of Phaseiis. In the single country to the north of Tanrus, they existed in Cappadocia, in the Tycaonian cities of Iconium, Derbe and Lystra, in Pisidian Antioch, in Phrygia and by name in the cities of Apamea and Laodicea there, as well as in Ancyra, the capital of -d Gatatia. In the north of Kteiuasia we now encounter them in ^ Pontus, in Sampsame {probably Samsun on the border ^ of Pontus and Paphtagonia), vennnthticb also in the paphtagoni- - -i seaside city of Sinope , as well as in Uithynia. Endtich in the west - " their now located in the niysian .^ "31

tieh in the local towns of Sardes and Trattes, probably-^ru

' according to beU. Jud. 2, 20, 2, but uach ib, 7, B, 7 even 18,Ü00.

201

also in the Tydiana Phitadetphia; in Jonieu soyar in quantity, namely in Smyrna, Ephesus and M i l e t , as well as in K a r i e n , namely in the Carian cities of Myndus, Hatikarnassus iud Knidus. We also find mention of them at that time on several Asian islands; very numerous on Cyprus and a Jewish community in the city of Satamis "'esctiiehet there; as well as on Rhodes, Kos and Samos. ■ - By then they had already found numerous residences in Europe.

in Macedonia, and the municipalities of \on Ihessatonich nud They are also mentioned by name in Thessatia, Aetolia, Bétotia, Attica and the municipality of Athens; according to Phito, they inhabited "most and best" of the Petoponnese, but Sicyon, Corinth, Argos and Sparta are also mentioned by name as seats there. Of Greek islands which they would have inhabited, we are told of Euboea, Metos, Detos and Paros; also Crete, in particular the Cretan city of Gortyna. ^ Of Itatia we are told that only Rome and Dicaearchia (Puteoti) were inhabited by Jews, and there is no mention of Jews in Sicitia, but at the end of note 3i it was shown that they must have already lived there as well. ^ Jewish settlements in Spain were already mentioned by an Exodus prophet, but now even Pautus wanted to visit them for proselytizing purposes, and there must have been a Jewish community in Carthagera. - There were now Jews in several countries in north-eastern Africa. First of all in very large numbers in Egypt, then in Atexaudria and in the Onias region.

tempets; then in no small number in Cyrene, and also in neighboring Libya and Ethiopia. The latter was on the southern coast of Arabia.

gteichfatts; and while there is no indication as to whether they are still living on the Gulf of Aetanite as before, or in the Hejaz as aftermath, we know of a very numerous Jewish population in Petraean Arabia, especially in its desolate landscape of Kekem, which was around Petra, but also in the Chagar towards the isthmus of Suez.

In this enumeration of countries and cities in which Jews were already resident before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Eöuians, only those are included of which this has been expressly reported to us or is sufficiently certain for special reasons; and with the exception of Phito 2, 587, where an attempt has already been made to list the countries (not cities) inhabited by them, all the attentions from which the preceding list is compiled are only provisional and given for quite different purposes. Naturally, therefore, my list is without a doubt a very tricky one, as is already stated in the Sibytt, 3, 271, in a piece apparently from the Maccabean period, that each country and the sea were filled with Jews; and Phito himself supplements his list of names by adding that "countless ([tupiac) cities were inhabited by them, in Europe, in Asia, in Libya, on the continents and on islands, by the sea and inland"; finally, already from the sober Straho, Josephus aut. 14, 7, 2, Josephus quotes the words that there is not a place on the inhabited earth that is not inhabited and ruled by this race. Although these sayings are obviously suffer from exaggeration, they also vouch for the fact that the spread of the Jews has already been an extraordinarily large one.

§ 51.

gQ,^^t

As I have said before, on the one hand under Since the "de" tendency of the Jews to move to new areas was certainly not the best prospect for a profitable trading area, on the other hand, every such relocation of the Jews, even where it may have been initiated from other areas, must have led to a majority of the new settlers being forced into the trade due to the difficulty of finding a livelihood there: the current very large distribution of the Jews is already a measure of the spatial expansion must have already attained their main activity. But there is more positive evidence of this. For the time being, we know of no ■" enemy force that was present before the last destruction of Jerusalem^



islands of the Mediterranean, Macedonia and Greece. We shall see that they must have come far less frequently from Palestine than from the countries on the Euphrates and Tigris; but be that as it may, their emigrations and onward migrations from stage to stage must have been voluntary in most cases, even if they were strongly influenced by their circumstances. And an attempt to build the field in a foreign country only had them into fertile regions, which those in which we found them settled were not at all consistently, a striking example of which I will provide later. Added to this is the improbability of wanting to migrate to a completely foreign^ country, to farm in the midst of a remote population; It was quite a different matter if, in a country where they had already found a Jewish welcome, some of the local Jews later turned to farming. And it could have been even less their intention to settle in foreign countries. a profitable industry, because the industrialized finished The most important of them were their weakest side, and among their current seats were cities and countries that would have been extraordinarily superior to them in this respect. Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that Atte or even most of them visited the aforementioned countries and cities for the sake of the trade. have : Rents of the same will have sought new ones if their previous seats did not feed them adequately or did not suit them for other reasons, with the intention to try there just what would offer itself to their fiefdom ; Again, however, many of them will indeed have thought of the handet, which was not only the easiest occupation to pursue in their situation, but also the most profitable, as well as of the many handet services for which they had skills and were most likely to be used, with the ulterior motive, to work his way up to become an independent trader. And if we take a closer look at the listed residences of Jews at that time, this is confirmed. For example

204

(with the inclusion of Metos, Dctos, Faros and Rhodus on the gteicti-nam islands) there were 52 cities that I listed above: and it would be purely coincidental that Jews lived in them, since it can be seen from the above writings that 39 of them were busy trading cities? C or that of the 22 cities of Cteiuasia in which Jews were previously documented, 16 had a practicing or the most practicing Handel? However, as I said, our knowledge of their settlements is only inadequate, but We also do not know all the hand sets of that time, and there is no reason to assume that hei vottständiger Kenntnis-

that what has just been determined will turn out to be the case: does this not testify to the fact that the Jews of the time were very fond of hand-held places? Their settlement on the three cyclops Mictos, Detos and Faros seems just as instructive: what could have prompted them to settle on these islands, the first of which was unhealthy and the other two barren? had a mercantile importance, Detos even an extraordinary one. Or what else could have induced them to seek out Samsun on the outermost edge of the still so inhospitable landscape of Pontus, if it was not its important trade with Byzantium? and as there far to the north, what led them so far to the south, on the southern coast of Arabia and in Ethiopia?

C Among them were the first ranked cities of Tyre, the ejrisctiG Antiochia, Damascus, Tarsus, the Phrygian Apamea, Ancyra, Sardis, Smirna, Ephesus, Milet, RhodnB, Tcassatonicti, Atheu, Corinth, At^os, Detos, Rome, Dicäarohia, Carttiagetia, Aetexaudria, Cyreuc and Petra ; and of lesser, but still tbeits i respectable, ttieits very respectable Uandetaheiteutung were Sidon, Aradue, ^ Laodicea on the Syrian coast, Patmyra, Hide, Phasetis, the Phrygian Lao- - dicea, Samsun, Sinope, Adramyttium, Fergamum, Trattea, MyndoG, Hatikamasa, the -4 Cypriot Satamis, Paros and Gortyna. However, whether Tyre still belonged to the first] It is doubtful whether Tyre still belonged to the first rank; however, we will see in § GG that Torsos dcnivra was perhaps never more than a second-rate trading city. Corioth-i, on the other hand, was deserted from 14fi - 44 BC, but was rebuilt on Caesar's orders, and attiaetly regained a high importance in mercBn."=] titical as well as in other respects. The Phrygian Laodicee ^ was only destroyed by an earthquake in 6ß A.D., and was restored by Marcus Aure^S Hds.

205

or what else could have led them as far as Spain, and made those who settled there so well known in the East that the apostle Paul wanted to try to convert them? Finally, let us remember Strabo's words that there is not a place on earth that is not inhabited and ruled by this race: we know this tone too well, Tim not to hear the discontent about the fact that even then, in very many places, the handet was predominantly in Jewish hands.C

But there is another important point to bear in mind here. After all, what Augustine says in the fourth century, that Jewish traffickers often drove away their young wives as young men and only returned to the old women as old men. But that If a sizeable Jewish population gathered and spread in any one place, women were naturally also required, for without a home and offspring this was impossible. Wherever even the smallest number of Jews went together, their wives and children migrated with them without question; where this would not have been feasible, either emigration ceased or it did not effectively lead to the establishment of a new Jewish settlement of any duration. But how, in view of the above-mentioned circumstance, can one imagine an active concentration of Jews in such places where only individuals had moved for the sake of trade? The fact that these Jews were mixed with the natives is already correct and is confirmed by

C A Mommsen, however, would not have said in a similar sense 5, 499 that at that time the Italian merchants had poured into the provinces and Christian states in competition with the Jews.

di"

idduschii 71, b even historically vouchsafed: but in (IbidI ['Dneisteu Fatten niusste die eigene Scheu wie die der Eingeborenen i verhindern, und Mischehen hatten auch weit eher zu einer ' Abfiirbining dieser Einzelnen von ihrer heidnischen Unif'ebung ats zur atniftti'en Bildung einer neuen j'udischen Gemeiude f'uhren.

"I therefore assume that the deportations of Jews for trade purposes, as they must have taken place very frequently according to the above, came about in the following ways. Werei It was really only individuals who went to a place for the sake of his handet sftora or, having been brought there for other reasons, were sufficiently interested in settling down, they subsequently took wives from their former homes or from other Jewish residences not too far away; and if they had already been married. | If they were married before, they send their families to join them, as often happens in our time from America, while others in the Ueimath, augmented by the success of the former, migrated there with their families. Where, after this or that sign, there was a denser Jewish population.

have assumed larger dimensions, as they by no means always had to consist of hand-me-downs, inasmuch as places of *teb- haftlicher* Verkehr could also be used for other nourishing occupations. opportunity. Furthermore, it certainly did not happen that the actual impetus for the search for a "new" residence was the commercial importance of the place, and that Jewish traders were perhaps also at the head of the enterprise, but that this was basically nothing but the establishment of a *handet scütoui e*, such as those founded by other peoples of the *Atterthum*, as well as in a still inhospitable environment, but promising area, *ats* also where there is already a busy significant trading activity had developed. However, the very concept of a "*sotchen Cotonie*" (a kind of *cotony*) meant that the craftsmen were also joined by people from subsidiary and other occupations, and that the *Cotonists* took their families with them.

tC There it is not *btoa* for *Meitien* and *ELam*, who are born to the *Rayou* of the *assy- tisctien* *exutants*, but even for the *Babjtouian* province 1 as a whole.

A

4

207

However, in attempting to describe the Jewish way of life in the various foreign regions in which we found them living, it must also be noted in advance that they did not adopt their own way of life anywhere.

but also entered the field of trade. If we had news about their trading activities at that time, we would probably find that they had taken on something special. But this news we were completely lacking before, and we are *bto*s to the assumption It is justified that their intelligence, their increasing agility, as well as - encouraged by their situation and by their awareness of being abroad anyway - a greater ease in traveling to foreign regions and settling there themselves, must have come to light in him; also, in some places, the *Han<tet* will certainly have gained more momentum through their unification.

But we can only gain a somewhat more definite idea of their activity by looking at the various countries in which they lived. I will therefore in the following chapters, the *pond mode* for

to say something about the population in general, if this is possible, and then to trace the hand of his children's children, and to make a quick investigation into the extent to which Jews there may have been involved with him.

Zwöftfts Kapitäl.

Of the Uaniträ of the babjioiiiisctieii, ptiimin'  
and cyiirischcn Jews.

i 53.

Regarding the summary in the headline  
I was moved to start a Jewish trade in four countries for two reasons: firstly, the Jews were now spread over such an extraordinarily wide area that it seemed appropriate.

^f Sit

20R

to be discussed in groups, inid the four countries mentioned above were allowed to be treated as a single "group" because of their close ties and their resulting manyfold trade relations with each other.

then the Syrian and cyprisehetd

Jews presumably immigrated from Babjtonieti for the most part.

But the babytouiachen Judeu we have to, eigentticüS already since the Persian rule, in a considerably expanded ~ sense. These were no longer limited to the landscapes indicated on p. 53, to which they \_ had originally been transferred. For at the same time, the largest part of the settlements on the middle Euphrates, starting from

The many of them were scattered all over Babytonieu and the regions east of the Tigris, including Susa and the whole of western Siisiana, and northwards to Armenia.

I would like to point out that the fact that they were able to achieve this should not be underestimated for many other members of our tribe.

Nttnitich in itself already knew little of the Aeternity or nothing of state or municipal barriers against the immigration of individuals or whole clusters of people; in Note 9 it was shown that even ancient Egypt was not as opposed to this as is usually assumed. However, with regard to the fact that the Babylonian exiles were

t new regions, and from them, I believe, most of the Jews of Syria and Kteiuasia also originated,

In addition, these countries were united under the Persian sceptre, later under the Seteucidi see, but the Jews were well recognized by the Persian rulers, at least during the first century of the Seteucid era, and by the Setencids before Ant. Epiphanes, the Jews were quite well recognized throughout. Both circumstances must have granted them a great deal of freedom of movement. At many points East of the Tigris, however, the Babylonian Jews had to meet with the descendants of the Assyrian exiles, and where they did not . the latter lived too close to each other, they seem to be among the

C Spccjetterca girtit tiiprüt>or Note .^4.

209

The fact that the Babylonian Jews were superior to them in terms of their elevated nationality and their israetitiscti-retigiüseni sense, and also in terms of their industriousness, was to be completely absorbed into them, so that to a certain extent the borders of the Babylonian Jews had moved a little further eastwards. Now let's take a look at the handiness that surrounded these Babylonian Jews.

We are told very little about the products and manufactures of Babytonia itself, as varied and important as they must have been. Cereals must be mentioned,

Patmenwein, Nussdattetn and an earth pitch used for various medicinal purposes were exported. And they made

There, for export as well as for domestic use, the most splendid robes, carpets and riding blankets made of wool, plain-colored as well as colorfully woven, some with very artistic and rich embroidery, and many fine linen cloths and pieces of clothing.C

The pottery of Babytonia was of quite excellent quality.

their stone-cutters' wares, their weapons and their

and exported many times over. Many peacocks were also bred, and the expensive fondness of the western countries for them must have been satisfied there.

At the same time, the Babytonian trade was even more important because the inhabitants were able to sell the most valuable products of the area.

countries, which were hot, supplied and distributed throughout the country for domestic consumption, as well as to other nations. We value this rich import but I have a few comments to make beforehand, which were also used for the later depiction of other Uandet areas. Namely when, for example, here and also later when considering

C Jos. 7, 21 shows that BabytoDian mice were never exported westwards early on, and Ptin. 8, 74 tells us that a Talet-cimnier with babytonian fabric at a price of 800,000 Sestertien (132,000 Mk.), and Nero even made a satches at a price five times higher. S. Ht has already mentioned the babyto-nic curtain in the Herodian temple and its wonderful embroidery. And the important handet articket in Baby-tonien asked the linen wall, it is clear from the fact that they B, hatra 91, a ats Specimeu of goods attpin is listed there; a large linen wall factory in Borsippa is mentioned hesondeva.

14

z

If we have to talk about the Indian goods in the context of the

Egyptian or Pontian handet, this should of course not {

be that säuimttiohe Indian export articket, weiche ieti aoi zählten

werden, had come to each of these betting markets, od"

t that every article brought to the western countries in later times:!

' Indian articles had already found their way here in earlier periods.

We do not have a list of the individual articles that it contained

from any of the atten manuscripts, and the scattered communications of

the Atten, namely Strabo and

[ Ptinus it should be clearly noted that only one of the

! came. In addition, the quantity of imports from India was later significantly greater than in earlier times. And this was understood in terms of both exports and imports from other countries. People got to know new articles, and how the acquaintance with these things spread, so increased

"the demand for them and their supply from abroad. Their consumption also increased steadily in proportion to the increase in pleasure, luxury, industry, and later also in art and science: I am thinking mainly, but not exclusively, of Jonia, Greece, Alexandria, Italy.

Even the Persians, without being a merchant, had to promote the growth of the merchant trade through the numerous royal courts of their satraps. Alexander's reign lasted too short a time for this, but the spread of the Macedonians and Greeks across the whole of the Near East and the extremely luxurious courts of his successors were of exceptional importance. Votends, however, the unindulgent hedonism and the senseless love of splendor of the Roman emperors and great men of the - C:

^^ gave him the greatest support and extension for the - ■ ^^k atte competition. These considerations were the main reason why ietrf ^^ ^^^ ^^B presented the handet of the countries in question in these chains as it was at the end of the first Christian era.

^^ft- century must have been: for this period -Äö j

^^B the quotes are somewhat richer, the representation can therefore be based on positive data, and from this it is possible to estimate somei ^^B maasäen, such as the type and extent of the handet on

211

each of the above-mentioned areas may have been in the years before. Wherever there are historical points of reference for this estimate, I will try to make it myself, but where it would have to be entirely subjective, I must, like to the reader.

§ 54.

Of the goods that came into the Babytonian trade from many different countries, the most important were the



wars 5, 9). The Indian spices were also understood to include some that were brought to the Indian markets from even more distant regions, and with this extension they were mainly the following: Nard, cassia, cinnamon, another unknown spice Amoraum, cardamomum, costum, catmus, mastic, the best matobathron (betet), ginger, three different kinds of pepper; also ebony and sandethotz, precious stones of various kinds, including diamonds, Perten, ivory, the best mountain crystals, from which shades and triuk vessels were made C, and a steel highly prized for weapons; indigo and another kind of dew, with which the evening mater made the shade; weaving mills on byssus, for the most part extremely precious, from China silk and fabrics made from it, as well as fats, fine sctaves, some wine and sugar cakesCC. The Babylonian merchants who brought these goods from India usually preferred the sea route along the coast (vergt.

Dio Cassius 68, 29), far the land route led through such desolate and unsafe lands. When these voyagers to the Indies had passed through the shallow and harborless sea, which Susiana and Persis covered, or were on their way back with their precious cargoes, they may have landed far and wide on the coast of Carmania, for that was where the best material came from for the ships that were to be transported to the Indies.

च Ptinius speaks in 37, 10 of a vessel ans initiactiera Kvystatt that holds four sextare (ä,16 liters).

चच Jen juice of a sugar reddish was thickened for this purpose, but the Attcrthiim used these globules Wos mediciiiiiscti.

Attcrttiuiiu so overctiwengticti gcsctiätzteu myrrbinic vesselsC. Incidentally, not a few Indian merchants will have brought their goods to the Babylonian ports, just as they frequently visited the Arabian coasts according to Diodorus 3, 47; we will see later that they came to even more distant regions under the name of "Banians".

Arabia, however, one of the most blessed countries, was now deepening its : in the first row its incense, which only Arabia produces; then some batsam, myrrhCC, cassia, catmus, a false cinnamon, ginger, cardamomuni, mastic, ladanum, perhaps also nard ; furthermore diamonds, emeralds and other precious stones, as well as godd and many pertenCCC; desgteichen set, many gum, the real turpentine, honey, wax, very wotitsctimcckende dattetn and Hattetwein, sugar kügetchen, and stone blocks of a brilliant white marble, which were made into shades and wine jugs f. The Nabataeans, wetche They were involved in the transportation and sale of these Arab goods and added some of the products of their own country, namely wolves, sheep, the best

and amethysts. Incidentally, the goods to be listed in § 60 from Ethiopia and some of its hinterlands, which were brought there by Arab traders, were often included among the Arab goods. A^ But the Arab goods came by very different routes na^ \_ \_ \_ f] Babytonia. Firstly, namely from the southeastern and southern Italian ^^^ei

e  
u

C These were cups, caskets, stone table tops; Ptinius tells 37^-> ' , 7 that in Com once for a small ketch of three sextars 70 Tate:^ - nte were paid.

CC According to Ptin. 12, 85, the myrrh was collected by Arab merchants. bought, stamped in hoses and so spoiled, only the Roman ungumU^^- would have prepared them for at least their uses.

CCC According to Ptinius, the Arabian and Indian peoples went by name. strongly to Rome, where the women themselves would have their shoes tightly covered with them.

t Ptinius tells us that artists used to obtain marble from Arabia, but that in his time it was greatly displaced by Parian marble; however, according to Diodorus, Arab marble was more beautiful than Parian marble.

213

The ports of Arabia were used by Babylonian traders and Arab traders brought them all by sea. Furthermore, from the most blessed regions of southern Arahieua, a strait ran deep to GeiTha on the Gulf of Ijersia, and the goods brought there on it, such as kowie set, which the satin and mighty stone warehouses of the Gerrheans deepened, led them theits by river to the Babylonian coast, theits /u Laude to Forath on the Pasitigris. Finally, the goods from Petra's Arabia were transported on the road from Petra to GeiTha, and from there to the just mentioned.

The road mentioned above was the shortest connection between Egypt and Phoenicia for Babylonia, as it continued from Petia to Rhinokorura, with a side branch to Gaza: these routes were already used for the transport of goods.

■vüu Atters, but Egyptian products came to Babylon under the Ptolemies; there was certainly another route for the Phoenician products, the one mentioned earlier near Damascus and Patmyra. It can hardly be doubted that Syrian products also came into the Babylonian trade,

-although there is nothing to be gained from the fact that the Persian kings used to buy the famous wine of Chetbon from there

Hesse. We will soon see that - at least in

later period - European goods went eastwards via Jonia, according to which it can be assumed that a theit

of the valuable products and manufactures of the western

Kteiuasia will have taken the same path. And to

We already had to assume trade relations of the Babylonians for the Exodus period on the northern coast of the latter: these could certainly not have been extinguished after the trade on the said coast became more and more intense, but it must have been between the goods

- less freely between the two areas than between the two trading areas. The roads that connected Babylonia with Syria and Stone Asia, as well as the main Egyptian, Phoenician, Syrian and Stone Asian goods mentioned here, are listed below. Babylonia's imports from the other sides were smaller. From Armenia, it received on Euphrates wagons

214

Some of its itauitproducts: Wine and hotz, which were missing in Baby- tonia, then Gotd, horses, Mauteset, and the schartacti'^ ähutictie -armenian color". The vaunted metatware of the Chatybers also found their way to him through Armeniffft, gteich-' as they did according to Ezech. 27, 13 to Tyrue and according to Jerem. 15, 12 they presumably also went to Palestine. Assyria deepened

silk and silk fabrics (vergt. Ptin. 11, 25. 27), media, pond-fat horses and the splendid "median clothing"; and if, according to Ptin. 37, 8, the material for the Murrhinian vessels also came from many places of the Parthian empire to the Ionian markets, it also did not pass through "baby" Ionian hands.

From the protected import of goods from so many countries!

Now, of course, a considerable part of it is used in babytonia for domestic consumption, but without a doubt far more of it has been to neighbors for their own consumption, such as for further distribution. Whether the Indians sometimes accepted foreign goods for the valuables they received, from the baby-

but that the Arabs did not do this, Ptinius says in 6, 32 that ' these heaped up the treasures of the Romans and Parthians, for they sold btos , but bought nothing. And even according to atten the neighboring countries from Armenia to Persis, the activity of the " Babytonians must have been only slight, because their populations were not on the whole cuttivist enough for a considerable con - 8ura. The Parthian kings and great men were indeed very powerful, but their headquarters, Ctesiphon on the Tigris, was still within the Babytonian territory and they were not the men to promote culture or stimulate cultural needs in subjugated populations. More significant, however, was Baby - ^ tonia's export to western Busiana, which was almost sc"

btühend wie Babytonien seihst was, und eine noch zu Strabo's Zeir J große, gtänzende Hauptstadt hatte. Therefore, Babytonienr J must have been a paragraph Tjach Egypt and P h ö n i n i a n of Betang s as it no longer included the Indian goods, far the Phoenician merchants and even more the agynJ

I 215

tic settlers were now visiting India, the Phoenicians had already visited India from Atters and the rest of the world.

Hesse, but quite often came to Babylon to buy them there.

However, the Babytonians seem to have exported even more of their own and foreign goods to Syria and Stone Asia.

§ 55.

Of course, here and in every other trade area, which is described in this work, import and export had to be kept apart: but in the Atterthum far more than in later and more recent times, both were handled by the same traders; I have already hinted at this from time to time, but it is worth going into a little more detail. In the case of overland trade to distant regions, the goods were handed over to a caravan, which carried them a certain distance and then handed them over to another caravan for onward transportation; this caravan also did this, and often the goods passed through the hands of a whole series of caravans before they reached their destination.

reached. But here they were certainly only highly selective merchants, to whom they would have been addressed, so to speak, but on the arrival of the caravan a kind of fair was organized for the free sale of the goods it brought; and it was

I have already mentioned that a smaller amount of traffic of the same kind already took place at notable earlier stations on the caravan routes. Of course, the prices of the various goods brought along were not yet or never fixed, and for the departing

prices exchange goods can be received. Attes this could not, of course, be left in the hands of the cameo leaders or the armed men of the last caravan taken along for security; it is also hardly conceivable that the proceeds would then have passed into the hands of the senders through the entire chain of caravans used. And in the case of sea trade, it was usually the same ship that brought the goods from the sender's harbor to their destination, but in terms of sales and

216

the prices and the payment made had changed.  
[ difficulties arise as with the Landhandet. It is therefore  
' without doubt that the caravans and shifts had to be accompanied by  
kaiifteiites [ ■who took part in the entire tour, even if these  
i now be the owners of the goods or agents of the same;  
' and in fact there is often mention in the ancient writings of  
merchantmen in a caravan train or on a Niercantite voyage. This  
does not, of course, exclude the possibility that  
There were also agents in the emporiums: but these could not have  
made the busy merchants surplus to requirements in all respects I  
and, as often as they could, they also combined wholesale trade  
on their own account by purchasing a significant proportion of  
the newly arrived "goods for wholesale distribution, or bought  
together domestic "goods for the new arrivals  
foreign merchants, if not combining both. Given the still great  
hardship of traveling and transporting goods, however, it is easy  
to imagine that the merchants who brought their goods so far would  
also be happy to make the journey home.  
. have taken advantage of a return freight promising a profit  
for the home country as well as for the intermediate markets, apart from that.  
I that the trade in goods at that time was still to a large  
[ Theite consisted in Tauschhandet. The last and some of the  
earlier elaborations of this chapter, however, go beyond the  
Babytonian trade discussed in it; but I have given them here,  
since in this chapter we had first to enter the "betting market.

A few words may also be said about the inner roads and the main  
ports of Babytouien. In the past, the Eujibrat, like the Tigris,  
stood for the launching and embarkation of ships

I open , but later only the lower , in that the Euphrates about  
134 kilometers upstream from the sea and drained into the Tigris,  
which was called Pasitigris in its further course. A network of  
canals in the southern part of Babjioniens^^^ was initially  
constructed for the benefit of agriculture, but it also served  
inland trade. Furthermore, the Tij  
a considerable stretch above its mouth, which sticks out far and wide!

i

I

I

^%

was a very important trading place. One of the great advantages of its location was that after t'tin. 12, 40 uiittetatische goods were brought there and sold by merchants from western countries. were taken to sea, and that a foot trip from uur 15 kilometers in length, the caravans that arrived in the Forath mentioned in the scton were brought to it, and that Susiaua was also supplied with goods from Charax. According to Strabo, these did not go to Susa on the Eutaeus, even though this important river flowed past Susa and flowed into the Tigris at Charax, but because of its water quality it was on a country road, whereas the Tigris and Euphrates were used upstream and downstream for mercantile and other purposes.

#### Marriage

uämtich Babyton, most of the imported goods were brought there, and what could be delivered to western countries was carried northwestward, either on the Euphrates or on a Ka- rawan road of only five days' journey, to the Euphrates Bridge near the handsome trading town of Thapsakus, where the road to Patmyra began. Another caravan route, for goods of a more northerly destination, led in 25 days from Babyton to Anthemnsias on the upper Euphrates. The Tigris, the upper course of which is unfavorable for shipping, was usually navigated as far as Opis and Seteucia. The former was only a trading post for its surroundings. Seteucia, however Seteukus Nikator was built west of the Ftusse, where it had approached the Euphrates for six hours, and became one of the richest and most important cities in Asia as well as the center of the Babytonian capital, as the now neglected Babyton was rapidly f,'anizing,C The main artery of Seteucia's trade was now freely the lower Tigris, but it also benefited from the fact that the old "Kiinigsstrasse" from Ekbatana to Niuiveh led to the most inaccessible vicinity of Seteucia, and a more recent caravan route, which led from Seteucia to the northernmost Euphrates bridge, the Zeugraa near Apamia, was even more beneficial; naturally

This is not true of Dio Cassius G8, 26. 75, 9.

could also be baptized from 1.I" to Syria, but the choice of a significant northern transit point shows that the usual destination of the caravans traveling on this road was much more Stone Asia, and in fact deeply influenced by this testimony. from a more distant road to Jonien. According to Strabo The trains from Seteucia to Zeugma took a month, and the Zettarabians, through whose land this road ran, had to pay a tax for unhastened passage and for bringing water, which was different in the territory of each chiefdom and was to be paid by the Zettarabians.

I had never been less. Meanwhile, when the FartherkÖni| chose Ktesiphon, not far from Seteucia but on the eastern bank of the Tigris, as their winter residence, a theit vou Seteucia's Handetsbtiithe there , and in the second Christian It was completely destroyed by the Romans in the 4th century. On the aforementioned road to Zeugma, or to the right of it, is the well-known town of Carrha, which had become a trade center (vergt. Fun. 12, 40. aut. 20, 2, 2), and we have already seen on p. 142 that goods were transported from it through the North-Eastern Syria to the Palestinian coast. Endtich day between the upper course of the Euphrates and Tigris, but closer the second, the important trading town of Nesibis.

ott  
nd\_ ^J

egarding ^^

"!

i 56.

However, now that we have recognized the extraordinary importance of this! of the Babytonian set of hands, we shall not find''.C btos justify the above assumption that a theit of the

"Exutants must be very tempted - ■ as far as it was concerned - to take pleasure in him, but may also be convinced thatssC this, and even to an increasing extent, during the f otgendeir"' C

that, according to appearances, the babytonian Jews before-

I mainly from agriculture, and another large fraction was active in both the higher and lower trades. The quota news is also correct, tieh and minor they are freitich in this subject, z. e.g. ant. 20, 2, 3 by a very respected Jewish (

219

handter in Ctiarax; Shabbat 140, b of Jews buying linen in Nehar-Abba on the Tigris; Moed katan 13, b of Jews selling spices in the market; ib. 28, b of Jewish Merchants in Shekanzib ; Gittin 6, a of Jews traveling from B6-Arshir to Ktesiphon to market. Particularly instructive for B. batra 30, a recounts that in one case a Babylonian Jew had explained his absence of several years by saying that he had spent this time at foreign markets, and in response to the objection that he had not been at home for thirty days a year, replied that during these thirty days the local market had taken up his time; Raba had said that this was true, as it does happen that someone is busy at the market for thirty days. And news such as the following: 90,000 Jews had lived in Phirus-Shabur on the Euphrates, or that those of Machusa on the Tigris were very rich (B. kamma 119, a) and from a single street of this city once appeared eighteen Jewish women with precious diadems (Shabbat 59, b) - I can't imagine it without a ^winning hand; In addition, the remark in Gittin 6a that the Jews of Machusa viet were traveling was certainly referred to by Rashi with good reason. Unfortunately, however, the reputation in which, according to ChuUin 127, a, three Babylonian villages stood, will also have affected their trading activities.

§ 57.

Let us now turn to Phoenicia. Note 34 provides evidence that after the death of Atexander M. Jews in The majority had emigrated there, and that their descendants lived in Tyre, Sidon and Era dos. They had come there at least theitwetse from Palestine, but it is possible that a majority of them were of Babylonian origin. The purpose of their objection, or at least the natural success of the same QiuBS, would have been more at hand here than anywhere else, for the soil of Phoenicia was very unsuitable for agriculture, and with the great industrial skills of the



JJ

r

220

It could not occur to the Jews to compete for a long time.

The objects and directions of the Phoenician trade have already been mentioned above again (Herodotus has talked about it more briefly here). From own There was little trade in the natural products of Phoenicia, but Baalshamir exported them from Lebanon and his wines to Egypt, and the plants of Berytus and Tyre were, according to Plin. 14, 9, even in Rome; whether the opium, which according to Aristotle was exported to Tartessus, was obtained in Phoenicia itself or from Gaditania cannot be determined. On the other hand, the export of his valuable manufactures was all the more significant, and concerned in particular the products of his woolen factories in high red and violet purple, as well as fine fabrics for garments, the silk factories of Tyre and Berytus were in high demand, then cleaning materials of all kinds, toys, glass goods. And far more extensive than its export of domestic articles was that of goods imported from abroad. These included first and foremost the Indian and Arab products already listed above, but also products from Syria, Cilicia, Greece, Spain, Egypt, Cyrene, Ethiopia, and presumably from many other countries; the most notable products of each of the countries mentioned here will be listed in detail when we come to the country in question in turn. Slaves from near and far

The Phoenicians were able to obtain goods from all over the world by sea and land, and from this supply of goods from all over the world, the Phoenicians delivered the goods they desired or hoped to obtain to every accessible country. The Phoenicians' trade was mediated partly by foreigners, partly by them since caravans came to them from Babylonia. Arab!"

C ApoBtetg. 21, 3 refers to goods that went from Ljria to Tyre.

Speech. - He added that, according to Straiiu, the Earttiagians would have to take the foreign monkeys traveling there in de: ^

reason, in order to avoid smearing their hand with Spain, they took

those of the Phoenicians, who were related to them, from this.

221

Aegypteii, also woht to Syria, and it will be permissible to add a little to my earlier information about the routes of the settlers. We saw that the ancient road from Babytonieu to the Mediterranean led via Thapsabus, Patmyra and Da- maskus; but according to Strabo 16

Along the way, most of the merchants were plundered by robbers, until Roman stations restricted but did not eradicate this ttebet; it seems that one of the more northerly eupbrate bridges was used more frequently to cross over from Gerrha via Petra and Gaza.

The caravans from Arabia, however, traveled north to Petra and then continued on the roads we already know. A visual tiche Schitderung des Ptinius von den Ptackereien auf dieser Tour may find a stette below. C According to Diodorus 3, 42, Arab goods were also suspected on the Red Sea.

Ethiopian and Indian, led them to a Petraean harbor, from where Phoenician and other chewers hauled them off.

On the other hand, only a few goods seem to have been brought to the Phoenicians from the west; they mostly brought the purchased goods to their warehouses from the coasts of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, with which they were in contact. In addition, they may have traveled from Aitat to the southern Arabian and Ethiopian coasts to purchase goods, but they did so on their own shifts, as in Satomo's time.

C He tells 13, 32: >The entire incense is led on cameos to Sabota, where only one gate is reserved for this purpose; to stray from the path is punishable by death. There the guards

"tavon the priests of the god Sabis in reception, and earlier he may nictit in "3en Handet tiommen. Now it can only be carried out by the Oebanites, who also have to pay a tax to their king.

~From the capital of the Setben to Gaza there are 65 cameo! Stations at which the priests and scribes of the kings have to be given certain portions; the witchters, satellites and gatekeepers also pass through,

"ind here is for water, there for food or for accommodation and in some huts

each cameo ice cream is worth GÜÜ denarii, and now comes the payment  
"do the tamers of our empire. < An intimate, albeit stonier, inspection during  
the day without any doubt of the transport of other goods; and on other caravan  
routes it will not have been very different from this.

They certainly only attempted to travel to Iiidieii a little more  
often when the Egyptian merchants under the Ptotemaeans had shown  
that one could dare to sail across the high seas from the  
Erythraean Sea. All the more often they traveled by land to Egypt,  
Arabia, Baby- 1 tonia, etc., in order to buy more goods on the spot  
and in the steppes, and joined a caravan to transport them home.  
TheJ Phoenician export trade then developed quite spontaneously,  
especially since in the Atterthum, as we have already seen, the same  
people were usually involved in buying and selling. At the same  
time, however, the inhabitants of Phoenicia came to the English and.  
Detait purchases there, but it was much more important that the  
merchants of the caravans that arrived brought valuable home freight  
with them,

and that the Phoenicians usually carried stocks of their goods  
with them on their shopping trips by land and sea, both for  
exchange and for other sales. Incidentally, the  
The great Phoenician handet attmfi,tigly declined to the extent  
that the Alexandrian one increased, and received an even worse blow  
by the fact that (according to Dio Cassius Ö4, 7) Augustus turned  
the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon into sctaves; However, these  
cities repopulated themselves, and Ptinius' statement 5, 17, that  
the significance of Tyre consisted only of shells and purple,^  
^^^^i will not be an exaggeration, since it was still Ab. sara  
jer. 1, 4 at^fj^iiJ measuring place occurs, and the handetsftor of  
Arados lifted saga"

in this later period. The end of the Phoenicians' stone hand:  
which we had known for longer periods of time, has been preserved unaltered: the  
householders from there roamed the whole of Syria un".ta  
atte landscapes on both sides of the Jordan to buy products together and  
sell them to domestic traders,  
Others, however, sold Phoenician and foreign goods in the  
areas mentioned above, as well as to individuals, who were s^  
for this purpose from the domestic wholesalers or had been  
transferred to them.

The fact that the Jews in Phoenicia will have participated in his  
hand". "3)(iet tebhaft theitgenontmen, was already stated at the  
beginning of this-^s( paragraph ats unzweifethaft, and I suspect that  
it is precisely from this that the fact that already at PauC~.^ug'

time, numerous Jews lived in Spauien and heard about itineu was widespread in Palestine,i for it is not exactly probable that those who had already arrived there before the Babylonian Exit down to such a late date', despite the fact that they had could not have had any connection with Palestine during the centuries that followed, nor could they have had any contact with it. Rather, it seems that of the numerous Jews who had already emigrated to Phoenicia after Alexander M. to Phoenicia and were undoubtedly augmented by later immigrants, a considerable number of them turned to the trade, and that not a few of them also continued to follow the Phoenicians, They, for example, independently sought out rich Spain, although it cannot be denied that a majority of Spanish Jews may have descended from the Itatians. That they had come there from another country in the diaspora, for example from Egypt, Cyrene, Syria and Stone Asia, is not true, since there is no report of a trade from these countries to Spain, but there is of the Phoenician trade there. Likewise, the settlement of the Jews on many coasts is also recorded and Insetn Griechentandes most easily from the assumption that the Phoenicians, who were also engaged in a vigorous trade there, some Phoenician Jews joined them and a large contingent of them actively followed; but if such a settlement flourished, Jews from the the countries just mentioned. But while, according to the above, the relationship between the Phoenicians and the Jews among them must not have been unfriendly, Josephus (against Apion 1, 13 and elsewhere) the Tyrians were very hostile to the Jews, and one of the main reasons for this may have been envy of the merchants. We already have the Tyrians in particular in the Ezechiet vott disfavor They found the merchant activity they had inherited in Jerusatem, and so it is easy to imagine how they felt about the Jews, who were now even in the midst of them, doing their trade. This feeling was bound to increase as the Tyrians' trade declined more and more, and at the same time the competition became more and more noticeable, as they were sold in countless foreign markets.

J

224

the attmfititf of the Jews spread overatt itiiion grew; dei envy is widespread, but already they no longer needed ersi to suspect that3 this little bird would be the heir to their betting hand.

§ öö.

In the rest of Syria, the Jews were extremely numerous in Josephus' time, and more details on this have already been given in S, given". Of course, many of them come from the neighboringiKr "Ti Patästina, but their mass presence in Syriar^Mra presupposes immigrations of such a magnitude that if they and their historical counterparts had been recorded from Patästina, Josephus would have heard and reported about them as well as he did about the emigrations of Palestinian Jewsr

to Egypt and Phoenicia. And since the Babylonian Jews lived closest to the middle Euphrates, i.e. precisely where the above-mentioned Euphrates crossings literally formed the bridges between Babylon and Syria, it is assumed that - "nfi

I strongly believe that most Syrian Jews came from this Euphrates-

.:C~.ti gegcnd. Now it seems that in Syria the Judei""^30

to have turned more to agriculture ats in any "i": ri

C, and there are several reasons for this: in Babytonia, too, the Jews are strongly committed to agriculture, but even more so in Palestine, and, as I said, the Jewish population of Syria has come from these two countries, s" ^^^ M

she will also have brought with her a great deal of sense for this occupation of life; moreover, the manner of Syrian "^Cfti agriculture was undoubtedly hardly different from that of the Palestinian "^C'""^ and the somewhat related nationality and language of the Syrians, which almost coincided with that of the former Palestinian "^Cfti", may also have been the reason for this.

Idazu have contributed to the fact that among them the Jews of native - ""^ ats felt in most other exit countries, and this mustC'-'^^^ cause them to adapt more closely to the way of life of the Kingeborener^^^eiq, which consisted mainly in agriculture, asu\$ to this came finally that in Syria the handet j

- Ctia

t sugar from .judisrtien Pätturn iii Syria.

pondfa r-^iüj

but it was by no means practiced vigorously. Numerous other Syrian Jews will have been represented in the most diverse other branches of trade. Nevertheless, a considerable percentage of the Jews must have turned to trade here too, and in Syria this was of a roughly similar nature.

With the exception of its desolate and almost uninhabited southeast, Syria was a very blessed and highly populated country, even its

Industry flourished, and what was not good in itself, but very important for our mercantile point of view, the inhabitants or at least their wealthier classes were almost notorious for their hedonism. The products of the Austand were therefore also

This was a very good market, especially for the Indian, Arab, Phoenician, Stone Asian, Greek and also for the Egyptian after the powerful development of the Aegean artifacts. The internal trade of Syria must therefore have been very significant. Of the products that came from

the East also went further west, Appian tells us (Civil Wars 5, 9) that the Patmyrenean merchants brought Indian and Arab goods from Persia (Parthia, Babylonia).

and in Roman territory; and some of them were first processed here before they reached domestic and foreign markets, such as silk and aromas, the Syrian satin and oceans from foreign and domestic sources were widely known, as were many of the country's own products, of which it could sell to the outside world and sold without hesitation: good wines, especially of Laodicea and that of Chetbon (Ateppo), which the Persian kings held in high esteem and which the Tyrians also used in their handet; delicious dates, pistachios, St. John's bread, also a type of zest; the Syrian nard was praised, the . local catmus was considered the best; some of its beneficial

Oete and Satben won the Syrians, as already mentioned, from home. plants and trees (matobathron, styrax, cedar, etc.), they also deepened a vegetabitic honeydew, and their sitphium was

C Also according to Hos. 14, 8 the white of Lebanon was praised.

according to Ptihi. 22, 48 the Rtimer mostly from Syria ; more distant products of this country were Gatban, Auripignient zum Maten, Siunactt for gertien and medicinal use, earth resin and resins from Terebißthe and Ceder, the much appreciated Cedernhutz, Schifts- bauhoiz, Onyx. I wanted to count up what I found in the quilts, and the counting may therefore be very tricky.

and those, like these, seem to have been supplied more by foreigners than by natives; the aforementioned trading activity of the Patniyrenes was, after all, only something isolated, in my opinion caravans and ships brought the foreign goods there and took the Syrian ones home with them; the Syrians never became a real trading community, and it may be that apart from

The genius of Votke may have been aided by the fact that the Antitibanus, coming from the east like a mighty Rieget before democ<sup>-j</sup> ■% wide cuttivrte Theite des Landes tag, über ihn führte zwaarj<sup>^ ^</sup> some roads westward, but only in its southernmost theater, so that the mercantile advantage of this benefited far more Phoenicians than Syria.

Nevertheless, Antioch, dir<sup>^Cjü</sup>

gtanzende Hauptstadt des grossen seteucidischen Reichs und nact:<~:;ich-mats ats "dritte Stadt des römischen Wettreiches" gefeiert, schr:",Mr<sup>^oü</sup> durch seinen Consum von größten Handetswichtigkeit seit J-"in- Damascus auch hatte seinen atten Ruf eines Hauptbandetsptatz ^^ ^zes

Patrayra has already been mentioned; Laodicir" \_cea on the sea became an important mercantile port due to its good harbor and the fact that it was the only trading port on the Syrian coast; and Hierapotis (Mabiw ag) in the northeast, presumably due to the proximity of the upper Enphrat crossings and its strong tree-woUencuttur, xb

respectable handet. - That now of the Jews, who are the Jata

"were very numerous in almost every city of Syria, it is self-evident that only a few would have been interested in this Syrian trade, and the greatest coutingent must have been those we met in Antioch, Damascus and Patmyrii.

also settled in the Hanpthandets cities of the country, ^■CC mat because the first two of these cities had an extremely large Jewish population.

227

On the large island of Cyprus, which is so close to Syria, Attes, which is of interest to us here, was pretty much the same as in Syria. There were so many Jews there that they seem to have immigrated from Syria early on and in large numbers. for their immigration from the other countries of the eastern Mediterranean could not have been so early and, as things stand, only ever sporadic; but a%ch

The Jewish population of Cyprus later grew from them. And since this inset was immensely nature was blessed C, so woht had also developed on her very zaht-rich Jews turned to agriculture and other trades. However, it was also very favorable for the trade, and it did indeed flourish there, but by no means to the extent that this situation would have enabled, which was perhaps already the case in

However, this can be explained by the great fertility of the soil and the fact that other peoples of this competitive region had gained the advantage over them in this respect. But of course this was no reason for the Cypriot Jews to give up their hand.

It must have made it possible for them to take control of the local traffic and also to pray there; in particular, in the Cypriot city of Satamis, which had an excellent anchorage and a large Jewish population, a considerable proportion of the latter must have been devoted to the trade. However, a major uprising of the Cypriot Jews in the year 116 ended with their almost complete extermination, one of them may have succeeded in escaping from the island, and on pain of death was then allowed to live in the city.  
no Jew will enter it again.

C However, the latest news on this subject is not matched by that which but it may have fared like Palestine in this respect, and in any case it still possesses its famous wine and presumably also its atten wealth of Copper.

15C

Thirteenth chapter.

From the handet of the ägj|iti

Historical events have brought about the return of a large part of the later Israel to its original seats on two sides: Abraham had come from Babytouiä, and from Nebuchadnezzar onwards deep into the Middle Ages, Abraham had returned to his fatherland. This country had an extremely large Jewish population; likewise in Egypt, Israet had grown into a votke, and nacti Phito (in Ftaccnm § Ö) lived there in his time as a middling tuden. Those who already lived in Egypt in prophetic times were mentioned on p. 57 and so on. Now, however, according to a message from Aristéas, which is not unworthy of dust, in The Persians would have displaced the inhabitants of Judah there, and quite a few of them would have tried to emigrate from the Handet. I even deny that as early as the Persian period, Jews from the eastern countries and more numerous



have. Furthermore, many of the Judeans joined Alexander the Great when he marched against Egypt, and thereafter, as far as he assured them in writing, they were allowed to live in Alexandria, whose construction had begun immediately, under the same roof as the Hittites. Not long afterwards, Ptolemy Lagi took the Judeans prisoners of war to Egypt; but the king's compassion was revealed to them, and encouraged by it, as by the beauty of the Egyptian land, Judeans in large numbers (according to Hecataeus, not a few myriads) voluntarily fled to Egypt.

His equally philanthropic son Ptolemy Soter those prisoners of war who had been sold as serfs by paying them a redemption sum from his own funds.

have freed them from their services; and under him as under

22!)

During his reign, Egypt's situation was so fragmented that both were so friendly towards the Jews that there is no doubt that they would continue to move in: The situation may even have been enormous, if the news is substantiated that under the next Ptolemy Phœopator, in an uprising of the Egyptians against him, 4 or even 6 Egyptian Jews died in defense of him, while under his grandson Ptolemy, Onias, who had escaped from Judea, is known to have built the temple named after him in the area of Heliopolis, but it cannot be determined whether the numerous Jews who settled around it were associated with Onias.

or had come here from Egypt. In any case, despite the fact that since Ptolemy the Egyptian Jews were often and strongly antagonized by both Greeks and Egyptians, Jewish immigration continued; for according to the above-mentioned, always enormous loss, the number of Jews there could not have risen to a million by Ptolemy's time through natural increase. According to him, they were spread all over Egypt, but their numbers were particularly large in Egypt, for he tells us in ib. § 8 that two of

the five quarters of this huge city were mostly inhabited by Jews, but not a few of them also lived in other parts of the city, and to this we may compare the attendings of Succa öt, b. Gittin 57, b, that in the great synagogue there were 120 myriads of worshippers, and that a large number of these Jews had perished at the hands of Hadrian. Let us now consider,

how diligently the Egyptians themselves devote themselves to agriculture, and that They used every last corner of their land for this purpose, and the high level they had already reached in many trades, so that in these times of baptism the Jews who had come to Egypt of their own free will could not have hoped to cultivate the land there. to build, or to benefit from their so-so technical skills.

The Egyptian Jews practiced some agriculture and the most diverse trades, those in the northeast and especially those living around the Onias- t "mpet also practiced animal husbandry; but this does not reduce

the great watirriuheintictikdt that a very considerable part of the setben from the beginning and during after these later times turned to the handet, especially since the setbe was now practicing in Aegjpten and vottends in Atexandrieu was attmatig to such an exemplary bag, thatt^ I must present it a little more detailed.

§ 60.

We know little of Egypt's trade before the seventh century B.C., but it is certain that even then many esteemed representatives of India, Arabia, Ethiopia, Palestine and Phtinicia went there.

where mainly in its service the casteuabtity of the Nitschiffer had emerged. Among the last Pbs^raoneu, however, the advantages of the handet were much better recognized, so foreign traders were more willing to join, and to facilitate the traffic with them, the caste of the boatmen was also increased. In addition, a canoe was launched from the Nit into the Red Sea of Nectio C to awaken the hands.

and finished by Darius Hystaspis; it began at Bubastos in Lower Egypt, led southward to Upper Memphis, and deep then tinks to the sea; but as it was not navigable at all times of the year, and in any case navigation was dangerous on the upper part of the Red Sea, it was never heavily used.

But the Egyptian trade experienced a much greater upswing among the Ptoternfteru, and indeed from atten Egyptian cities so predominantly in Atexandria thata Stratw, when mentioning a trade fleet on the Nit and of t-'totteu, that went to India, as well as in his reports on the Figyjitic-Roman handet, Stratw only ever speaks of Atexandrian merchants, and onemat even calls Atexandi'ien the largest handet place on the inhabited earth. The Lenehtthurni can almost be seen as a symbol of this "Wetthandet, wetcher on the.

" Nauti Ebers already v

The island of Pharos, connected to Alexandria by a causeway, was one of the seven wonders of the world. In order to understand the extent and nature of the Egyptian trade at the time of the Ptolemies and the

To illustrate Roman rule a little, I would first like to point out the natural and artistic products that came to the area.

The country was already exceptionally rich in indigenous products of both kinds, and these must have been quite exceptionally the objects of the so exerting internal trade; but I will only list those of them which were the main article of its export. Above all, there is his grain, Egypt was at times, but especially in the period indicated

the granary of many countries, especially Italy. The mention of Egyptian beans and lentils in the Mishnah also points to their export. More wine was exported than imported.

from Palestine, Phoenicia and some Aegean islands, but there were also many native ones, the best of which was the one from Anthytta near Alexandria (Athens 1, 25), praised for its

also that of Coptos and the Mareotic, and the gteichfatts very good Sebenny table was much esteemed in Rome ; also a part of the imported wine, prepared by the addition of flavors and honey, was exported again as artificial wine of various kinds, the Atterthum drank such mixtures, and in Egypt a palate wine and two kinds of barley wine or beer (Zythos and Kurmi) were prepared, but we know only of the export of Zythos. The following are mentioned among the animate objects exported: cows and pigs (according to Bechorot 4, 4 ver-

cut so that their species would not reproduce elsewhere), a stone fish species in tons, prepared fish guts from Petusium; presumably, however, horses were also exported, as in Atterthum.

Then, Egypt deepened the outflow of the fabric of wotte, tree-ivoUe and linen, the Egyptian byssus was highly famous, C

C According to Ptin. 19, 2 a fine armor of King Amasis was woven from threads ^woven from 365 each; and the extraordinary preciousness of a byssus garment obtained from petusium was already mentioned above from c^ma 3, 7, but according to Ezech. 27, 7 it could be woht, 531SS the distribution through the influence of trees and other plants. Ciuformen was caused.

as well as fine yarn and lace. Artistic dyeing had reached a high level of popularity there, for example, Theofcrit praises the purple carpets of Alexandria in exuberant terms, iind they did not apply them to dress fabrics, but gave

In general, however, industry and the arts were exceptionally well developed and cultivated in Alexandria, and I will only mention a few of the main branches of these. The most diverse utensils were made from precious and non-precious metals, jewelry, finery, weapons, clay tools (see note 35). The manufacture of glass was not inferior to that of pottery, the most beautiful and splendid wares were made from it, and even dinghies were produced from this material, for which it is not used. The clay vessels made from it were also frequently used, as were the utensils made from it.

of mineratic nitrene, while the vegetabitic, at Seif'''Ä( and for other purposes, gteichfatts was a respectable": .^seii Handetsartiket. One specialty there was the processing of papyrus, the writing material made from it went ii":\_Mi^

C atte c ity stands, but it was also used to make mats, dresses, blankets, ropes, bags, baskets and so on. Distant" ^r j were made there from spices and other aromatic ores.

The most delicious omelettes, satins and putters are prepared, according to'"ii Ptin. 13, 6 more than anywhere else, mostly from imported fabrics^], but Egypt itself also produced the myrobatanos, the matob^^- throne and the best variety of cyperbtume. I am only considering the set of Ostracine C, the widely appreciated "ägy^?C" tic Ataun, an Egyptian Btau, the Atexandrian Gumni". i ■ which is considered the best gattCC in the Atterthum, several species of Marmo^

"rs

Bowie a sand for cutting and potiren dessetben, also d^^ "i Emerald and some other gemstones - the list is not exhaustive sotLC:-C.

C I went to Palestine, but of course I certainly didn't go there.

-- Viet of the rubber that Egypt exported was fribch erat import-i C^ nameiittioti ans the western Arabia Aegjpten sott davon noch jetzt jättC-"" tieh an 675,000 Kito dem Aastande abgeben.

233

^^P In addition, however, there was an even richer import of goods from India, Babytonia, Arabia, Ethioiieii, from inner and western Africa, from Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Cteioasia, Greece, later also from Italy and perhaps other European countries. What the Indian, Babylonian, Arabian, Palestinian, Phoenician and Syrian goods mainly consisted of has already been indicated above; here I will only mention the most important of those imported from Inner Africa and Ethiopia, but only refer to those of the other countries mentioned later, when discussing a Jewish handout in them,

Sktaven and fine set. Furthermore, cinnamon, ginger, myrobatanos and myrrh were brought from the land of the Trogtodytes, which was south of Ethiopia, or its southernmost part, and the Trogtodyte myrrh was considered the best. In addition, Ethiopia with the once so btühenden, damats, however, merk-tich had descended from the merchant state of Meroc. It was usually Ethiopian traders through whose hands the above-mentioned

goods in the Egyptian trade, but also deeper

These Ethiopias are home to a wide range of very valuable products:

Myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, some frankincense, the bet-

Perseamandetu, Johannisbrod, Ebenhotz, emeralds and others

Edet stones, godd, copper, iron, sctaves, ivory, rhinoceros horns,

I^tusspferdteder to Schitden , Schitdkrötenschaten , monkeys , Marnior

sand. As you can see, the prodnctc of these three African countries

together could almost compete with the Indian and Arab countries.

But let's also take a look at the ways in which wetchen

"These goods from so many countries were transported to Egypt and

its Xiaiptemporium Atexandria. The Arab and Babylonian goods,

including those from the hinterlands of Babylonia, "were

transported in ships and brought here on the caravan routes already

familiar to us. The supply of the Indian caravans from the Arabian

intermediate ports had almost ceased, and they were received for a

long time via Babytonia. Meanwhile, I^hitadetphus had already sent

a prudent JVIann there to explore India, and the Atexandrians

sailed actively along the entire western Hatbinset there and to

Ceyton,

i

I 234 1

Still iniiiiPiC, however, on the voyage to India iiiiai dared not stray from the coast and had to atso tängs the Ge-

stadiums of southern and eastern Arabia and Babytonia,

Snsiana's, etc., back and forth; at last, however, this shyness

disappeared, and they sailed from the Erythraean Sea, cutting off a

wadded bow, on the high seas directly to India. According to

Ptiniis 6, 26, in his time they sailed from Berenice to the port

of Ocetis in 30 days during the height of summer.

on the southwestern coast of Arabia, and from there in

another 40 days to India, and back again in December or

January. The outward and return voyages were made at certain

times in order to take advantage of favorable winds. They

also liked to sail

with as many ships as possible, corresponding to the caravans on

land, in order to find mutual assistance, especially against

pirates; thus Strabo relates that in his time a fleet of 120 ships

sailed from Myoshormos to India C-

The extent of this import can be recognized, and Ptolemy says a. a. 0. that the import from India did not cost the Roman Empire a year. under 50 millions sesterces (over 7.6 millions mark); and 12, 41, according to the lowest estimate, the import of Indian, Persian and Arab goods together cost the Roman Empire 100 million sesterces annually. However, some of these goods did not make their way west via Alexandria, But this was far more than outweighed by the slightly ten times higher value of the goods. And how ge- The extent to which this trade must have been profitable can be seen from Ptolemy's addition in the first edition that some articles had to be paid for at a hundred times their Indian price. - The African goods mentioned reached Egypt by three different routes, namely by caravans on the Theban route, and from Ethiopia onwards by the Nile, whose cataracts one knew how to pass, but most frequently

C According to Mommsen 4, 386, the Ptolemies would have had the Orient "monopolized", but I know nothing of it, and not exactly its meaning; by the way, note p. 168,

in commercial traffic with a reason for this.

235

the Ethiopians and some troglodytes brought their goods to ports on their eastern coast, Adulis, which was the most important port for this. From there, in earlier times, the Ethiopians themselves often took them to Arab and Egyptian ports, despite their primitive barges and poor navigational skills; or Arab, especially Sabaeans would take them from the Ethiopian coast and sell them on to Egypt, Phoenicia and Babylonia. Later, however, Egyptian merchants from the Ethiopian ports bought them, just like Sochi. quite often roamed Ethiopia and the Troglodyte country for large and small purchases. Ptolemy used the above-mentioned Attian Canal to transport all the Indian, Arabian and Ethiopian goods to Egypt by sea, then continue on the Nile to Alexandria and restore it for this purpose. However, the already familiar circumstances of this tour have now also been em-

The cities of Upper Egypt, from Berenice and the somewhat northern Myos Hormos, had artificial roads leading to Coptos, which was below Thebes on the Nile. A large proportion of the goods transported along these roads reached the markets of Upper Egypt.

and Central Egypt, most of them went on the Nile to Alexandria for the consumption of this lush fertile city and Lower Egypt as well as for the most diverse processing and export. What The final part of the Egyptian trade came from the countries around the Mediterranean Sea on caravan routes, from Pataestina, Phoenicia, Cyrene and some now just from the very cultivated regions west of the Nile, not in small quantities, for the goods of these countries were often shipped to Alexandria, and those of the remaining. Of course, the mid-sea trade only took place by road; Alexandria had four ports for its import. It should be noted that the sources are silent about a direct trade connection between Egypt at that time and Spain, but it is hardly conceivable that the famous Spanish goods would have been completely absent from the fertile market of Alexandria; Strabo also speaks of a direct trade connection between Egypt and Spain. of the return freight that the Alexandrian ships in the campaign

w

The port of Dicaearchia, and since this city must have been the main Italian port for the goods in question, it would seem that a considerable part of the goods was in them.

(the return loads have existed).

Although the interior of Egypt had already begun

for my part, in domestic as well as imported products and manufactures, for this country was heavily populated at that time and rich, its inhabitants, however mixed they may have been, The Nile and, in Lower Egypt, an extensive network of canals made an enormous demand on the distribution of goods. But exports were even more important. To the south, it was free without duties, so Arabia and India only sold their precious products for duty. In addition, Babylon and some of the Near Eastern countries in the same area, as well as other countries on the Mediterranean and Aegean seas, were supplied in abundance from Alexandria with necessary and unnecessary goods, in that the Alexandrians supplied them to them and in this the Phoenicians were completely outdone, while traders also went to this bazaar to shop.

C§ 61.

"That now in this most laborious trading city of the Atterthum a." - considerable part of its so extraordinarily large jtt discheie^j population will have turned to its stone and large-scale traffic tebbaf"- '5 is so out of the question that no proof is needed; however, Phito (in Ftaccum § 8) explicitly mentions "^ Sctiiffsherren und Grosshändter unter den dortigen Juden , sotche unter ihnen gab es nicht ohne danebe unzählige Kteinhändter in atten Abstufen Gradungen. Also

be able to prove some further traces of this. 3 Mac- 3, 10 is the handet connections of the Jews in Ategyptia i the pagan inhabitants. The inclusion of an Egyptian ship in the ritual statutes of Ketira 15, 1 i seems quite incomprehensible to me without the Jews there being involved in the ship's fate. Among the "public" Aenites, to whom the Egyptian Jews were assigned -

^K\_ es ■

z"-ej- m

3. "1/ ft

237

C , which in Egypt is not at all conceivable without the associated export of grain, but was certainly only entrusted to shrewd merchants. (Grätz does not go too far when he says in his History of the Jews 3, 32:

- the grain pile that Rome used for its legions from Egypt.

The goods that the Egyptian Jews bought from the richest sources were certainly loaded onto Jewish ships and brought to the market by Jewish merchants"; but I do not believe that the Egyptian Jews were involved in this). Above all, where we are told of Egyptian Jews

that they had large sums of money at their disposal, we may safely assume that they were able to make a profit through very profitable Handed or swung up through big deals

There was no other way for them to do this.

And to Sotchen is perhaps already to be counted that Arion, to whom (according to Ant. 12, 4, 7) the tax tenant Joseph entrusted 3000 patents; but in any case they included the Atabarchs mentioned several times, very rich Jews of Ategyptia, to whom the government granted a rulership over their Egyptian pigeon comrades, whose powers we do not know in their full extent, but I am not able to use the expression

OTi|iBoJ,a[ü)v ijt;jifXfrra[ ant. 14, 7, 2 should only be understood as meaning that it also held the office of Handetsrichter or Obnianues of the Jewish



ib. 18, 6, 3 tells us that he gave five talents to King Agrippa, who asked him for a loan of 200,000 drachmas, with the promise that he would receive the best in Dicaearchia: he must therefore have had a very wealthy business friend or several in this prosperous trading city of Itatia. And the atabarch Demetrius was, according to ib. 20, 7, 3, he was the most respected Jew in Atexandria in his time in terms of wealth and wealth. Even in antiquity, as almost down to modern times, the individual Jews, of whom there is a closer connection to princely persons is reported, mostly by business means or as outstanding businessmen. Thus we read in ib. 19, 5, 1, that that Atabarch Atexan-

C Vergt. Joseptiis gcgeu Apion 2, 5.

i

■ ' "238 ^B

the iueti manager of the mother of the emperor Ctaudius was % I I Ananias, wetcher uach ib. 20, 2, 3 at the Adiabenic l I Könifrsfamitie had access, is there beitiUiftg ats Grosshandte ^rr I '; and that the Jew, who according to A))0stetg. 8, 27 Sehatz ,^- j must have been meiiiter of the Ethiopian queen Kandake, was in Im ii ^ i | bei" or previously a businessman, no one doubts. - - - - - ; It should be mentioned at this point that among the numerous condemnations of the Jews of Atexandria, which were repeated in the year 116, when they must apparently have been almost completely destroyed, their mercantile activity was of course also revived."naiit meaning extraordinary, but these resurfaced again and again in times of quiet\_"r4ei, to the extent that (according to Jost 4, 23CZ "0J I in 415 the Jewish population of this city, at a hundred- -rt- thousand seets, was greetsentheit the handets trade obtegen in "~wdj should have prayed to the local Seehandet.

^^ guig

§ 62.

Let us now turn to the Jews in the town and province of Cyreue. Ptotemaeus Lagi had already written a the of the Egyptian Jews ats Cotonie was sent there in order to be able to their adherence to his rule over Cyrene"

would have been. From these attain, however, the extremely numerous Jewish population that was subsequently located there could not have been descended, but there must have been a strong influx of Jews there for a long time and a constant '---' that attracted them. That this was not the hope of establishing a lucrative industrial activity there is again evident from the limited extent of their technical skills, and I will" in the countries that we will still have to examine,

I will not return to this point at all, it was just for " the Jews at that time. However, it does not seem to have been the "desire for farming that led many Jews to Cyrt, for the Jewish population of this country, despite its large fruit market, must have been either not at all or only very little involved in this occupation.

239

I infer this from the fact that, according to Ant. 14, 7, 2, Strabo listed four classes of inhabitants of Cyrene, but the farmers in particular and the Jews in particular. But far

As we shall see, since the trade there was extremely laborious, it is more likely that many Jews turned to it as a source of income, and that their descendants were happy to continue in this line of business. The latter is in itself already highly probable, and is further supported by the report bett. Jud. 7, 11, 2, that in the case of the Jews narrated there

The greedy Roman governor Catuttus had killed those Jews of Cyrene who > stood out for their wealth, three thousand men" : for the wealth or also

Only the presence of thousands of people among them cannot be found in any other way than the most intense affirmation of the handet there.

Cyrene enjoyed a very powerful handet from Atter, and was for a long time a viable rival of Carthage and, after its destruction, its heir. The

>. ..

The cotossate mercantile upswing of Atexandria naturally caused him a break in his trade with many countries on the Mediterranean, but he was able to make up for this with a significant increase in his intermediate trade. On the other hand, his commercial activity was mainly focused on the latter; his exports of local products must have been small, as there is no mention of valuable export products or of an important industry in this country in the news at all; I found its horses, then its roses, from which one could make a

juice was used for a variety of medicines, and that the Carchedonius edet stone was also frequently found in the Nasamone region belonging to it. On the other hand, ^renaic traders were as likely as the Alexandrian traders to have harvested the above-mentioned products from Inner Africa, the Trogtodyte country and JVethiopia. Furthermore day Almost exclusively in their hands was the exchange of goods going by land from West Africa to Egypt and from Egypt to the East: the latter naturally also included those coming from

I

I

I

The Cyrenaic peoples from the more easterly countries found a rich source of wealth, for the countries subjected to Carthage retained an extremely large population, which under Roman rule was cnttivirt^^i and even more luxurious than before. The Cyrenians also exported many of the foreign goods mentioned above by ship to Atexandria as well as to numerous other ports on the Mediterranean, and obtained or received other products from there for domestic use, which must have been quite considerable, as well as for further distribution. The sea access to the capital was made somewhat more difficult by the fact that it was located on the shores of the Kitometer, but a convenient road led to the port of Apo^ -^l- tonia. Southwest of it, facing the great Syrte, ahi^^^er not yet in the realm of its shallows, day the Cyreuaeen Ttifii ^i town of Berenice, inhabited almost exclusively by Jews.

It may also be mentioned that we follow a trace of cyr c naean Jews, who were themselves connected with their wadden journeys to Jerus^;^ - tem Handetszwecke, had already encountered p. 143 ; as well as that either just this way or intermediately the Jew n,

according to ant. 16, 6, 1 in neighboring Libya, d -i"

Knowledge of the crudeness of the Berbers (Jebamot 63, b) and vr ^^ the "Fetes of Barbary" (Shekatim jer. 6, 2) was taken to Pata3tii^=^^"- JC. With regard to these Tibyan Jews, however, 1^^:=^ Due to a lack of further news about them, only the ve= ^C muthung that they do not drift freely to the caravan handet.

What can be learned from the activities of Ethiopian and South

because of the necessarily quite similar nature of their traffic, but also because we have already seen that the inhabitants of both coasts are in trade relations with each other.

which makes it appear that some Jewish merchants have not moved from one coast to the other.

C I can't say for sure which fats are meant, but the assumption that the fatty oat crust of today's Tunis was thought to be a part of the slope of the steppe [tasscn.

241

In any case, ease of movement was a prominent characteristic of the Jews at that time. We have now seen p. 58 that at least already

in the eighth century BC Jews lived in Ethiopia and were probably devoted to the Handet. The one from Meroe

has been more praised than praised by the Atten, but in fact it consisted mainly of the following: the caravans from Inner Africa as well as the producers and domestic buyers of the precious Ethiopian and Trogtodytian products brought their goods to the wholesalers of Meroe, and these brought or sent them partly by land to Egypt, partly to Erythraean ports, from where Arab traders would take them to Babytonia ; Also, in those early days, in order to shorten the dangerous and as dangerous as slow shipping on the Red Sea, Indian and Arab products from South Arabian ports were brought to the nearby harbors.

of northeastern Ethiopia and went to Egypt via Meroe. This is how those of Ethiopian Jews as well as the wider Ethiopian community. Xand to buy up or otherwise collect supplies of its products, for example Ptin. 5, 1 says that ivory was usually obtained there by searching the forests for it, and the suggestion that Jews from Isaiah's time also roamed the forests of Cush for it must arouse a feeling of its own. Whether Jewish traders also settled on the south Arabian coast at such an early stage,

Given the lack of any positive evidence for this, it cannot be decidedly affirmed, but there can hardly be any doubt about it, since this coast is no more distant than the Ethiopian coast, and at the same time richer than the Ethiopian coast in delicious goods, and already highly valuable in the Ofir region

tierz was. The Jewish merchants on both coasts will not have come there directly from Palestine, but from the Jewish cotony in Aitat, and some of them may have been agents or suppliers of Aitanite wholesalers. While

C The legends of an even earlier stay there have  
I cite in my history 8, 533, but for unfounded erctary guussen.

Eat

I

k:

242

In the fourth century the deepest silence reigned for the Jews of these regions, but in the first Christian era there is mention of Jews in Acthiopia as well as in southern Arabia, Note 34), and of course they had already been there for an indefinite period of time. That they descended from the ancient Jews of both countries is not exactly probable, but a whole series of countries can be counted from which they may have come, some from there, others from there: Egypt, Babylonia, Petraic Arabia, and Judea, for although the Judeans are perhaps the least likely to have descended from the Jews of the earth , we also found among As well as we had to assume that among the Judeans who had migrated to Pbönicia, Atexandria and Cyrene a considerable number were counting on trade there, other Palestinians could seek out the coasts of Ethiopia and St. Darabia, which promised even greater profits. In addition, at least with regard to Ethiopia, there was the great advantage of the cheapest possible exchange of its goods, for we have already been told from p. 33, Pt. 12, 42, how little the local communities there were willing to accept for their precious products. 8, 27, that a Jew was treasurer to the Ethiopian queen KaudakeCC , is historical: it is also a legend or fiction that Jews conducted considerable business in Ethiopia; moreover, what could have led Jews there and to southern Arabia if not the handet setbst or the hope for Haudets activity there? By the way, this must have been quite the same in Ethiopia as it was indicated before , only

He was told that he had found a green surplus of etfentieiu there, and that the people of the area would not give up an egg tooth of IW) to 150 pounds for an att knife, for a swabbed bracelet or for a similar stone.

According to Strabo, there were several ruling Künifjinnen of this name in Aettuopia.

243

(tthat now certainly no longer Arab goods, indeed not even the African goods mentioned above, went to Egypt via Meroe, but were brought down to the crates and shipped to Egypt or, even more tianfyingly, handed over to Egyptian merchants ■ - the nautical advances of this more recent period were not completely lost for the Red Sea either, and must have contributed significantly to the loss of Meroe.

However, the goods in question were also transported by ships from Aitat, for further distribution northwards, and from the Babylonian aJa- gehott, but not by the skin, whereas they went quite a lot to southern Arabia. The industrious inhabitants of this Arabian coast, and the Jews now living among them were certainly no more industrious, brought from the numerous as well as valuable lauds products, which the producers brought to them, the thefts from the ports they visited, and they sold them to the merchants who visited their ports from Egypt, Aitat and Eabytonia, as well as to those Phoenicians and Romans who

They had preferred the overland route for their purchases, which was hardly less expensive; but most often they carried their Arab products and those from the Ethiopian coast in caravans to Petra and Gaza as well as to Eabytonia.

§ 64.

But, as already mentioned earlier and proven in note 34, Jews were now also living in Petraean Arabia, in massive numbers in its rather barren western part, which was called Chagar, but in large numbers in the fertile and well-populated eastern part, which included the landscapes of Rekem (the area of Petra) and Gebatene. This was brought about, not exclusively but mainly, by the fact that Jochanan Hyrcanus subjugated the largest part of Idumfta, and his son Jannaus even extended his rule as far as Rhinokotura; and since the Crusader had forced the Iduraeans to accept Judaism, even family connections of Jews with them were not established there for a time

r

k

2U

have occurred. On the other hand, the uninhabited dwelling of Jews in these territories was countered by the ingrained enmity of the Idumeans against them, the renewed resentment of their subjugation, the attitude against the Jndenthuni imposed on them, which made them

also 1) aUt \yieder tore apart their political dependence and then certainly returned to their Heiitenthuni for the greatest theite; In addition, there was the fact that the strengthened Petraean rulers were known to have been at war with Judah quite often. In spite of this, even under hostilities and despite partial expulsions, which will not have ended, a large Jewish population survived in these regions. Now

The Idumeans had already made massive use of the favorable location of their country, but this was done to a far greater extent by the Nabataeans, who, allegedly since the fourth century BC, had taken over eastern Idunia with Petra as well as the area of Aitat and a large part of Peraa. We saw again that Petra was the most important trading center of Arabia and the hub of the most important caravan routes, to Rhinokotura, to Gaza and Phonicia, to Damascus, to Gerrha

on the Persian Gulf, from southern Arabia and you Aitat. In view of the minor importance of its exportable ice-cream products, which we p. 212 know, and because of its low consumption of foreign goods, it must be considered an important market.

In Petraic Arabia, the import and importation of goods was without any significance, but the more important was the intermediate trade, as well as the caravans, and also the fact that Petra was the center of the greatest trade in goods from so many countries and, at certain times of the year, the busiest trade fair.

significant exchange of products was taking place. Understandably, the strong caravan traffic had already yielded a lot of profit here, but we saw once again that with it there was also effective trade activity.

The Nabataeans, who were quite well protected in mercantile terms, did not miss out on this. Uebrigena was auct

L'45

Aitat's maritime traffic was not insignificant, it was still one of the staple ports for Arab and Ethiopian products, and the Egyptian traders in the Gulf of Aetanite mentioned in ib. 3, 43 mentioned Egyptian trading posts in the Gulf of Aetanite could only have had Aitat as their destination for hoarding or bringing goods. The small Mediterranean ports of Raphia and Aethedon should also be mentioned here: they were already mentioned p. 150 in Pataestina, but according to Shebiit jer, 6, 1 Raphia belonged to the Chagar province, and Anthedon was at least still in their area of control. ^ Now it may well be that the people living in the well-cultivated eastern

The Jews who settled on the territory of Pictish Arabia mostly practiced agriculture and crafts, but with the sense of trade that had awakened in them wherever Jews now lived, it is not possible for them to have watched such lively traffic without taking part in it. It is probable that they also did this in Aitat and from there.

thateu, but there was a lack of explicit support for a young population there. In the inhospitable and urban landscape of Chagar, there was little actual trade, for example in the two small harbor towns on the Mediterranean already mentioned, but a very lively transport of goods on the many roads that cut through this landscape: on the two

from Gaza and from Petra to Rhinokotura, on the two from Petra and from Aitat to Gaza and northwards, as well as on one that led from Aitat to Arsinoe, from whose ruins only three kilometers away Suez now tiesCC. The Jews in Chagar seem to have turned to caravan trade more than elsewhere.

and as far as the soil yielded very little laudbau, may most of the others practiced livestock farming in a traditional way

C In note 34, in order to exclude two contradictory factual XDudic statements about Jews in Bekem, the distinction was made that Sotctie /was living in the countryside, but not or not always in the city of Petra, which depended on them.

Handet was not excluded by this nattirticti, and according to Diodorus 19, 95 the bazaar of Petra was located at a considerable distance from the city anyway. CC See also Ebers "Durch Gosen "um SinaiC p, 177 about the fact that in the ]etirten Torchritttichen century and in the nextfotgend "the Sinaihatb- inset a not to be underestimated Vötkerverkehr to the Schauptatze served".

i

246

have: from both races they went over strongly into the way of life of

the natives, and the completely Arabized jit ,^J



The small tribes of the neighboring Hejaz, which one encounters in the Korai"- ^-\_^, seem to have descended from itineu, thei!'^^\_j from those Jews who, according to note 9, already lived there during the babytoniachei"- - exit.

Fourth chapter.

From the Handet of the Jews Kteiuasiena.

§ 60.

At the end of the first century, there were "ic!  
There was no landscape in which Jews were not settled, in most of the regions of which we found B. 200 etc. e  
Yes, that's right, the closest to the west coast, but it seems to me to be the closest to the stone Asian Jews vii

Groups can be distinguished: those in the inland, those on the

noi "^^ tiehen coast, those in western Kteinasia, and those on its

Sfk ^

coast, not only did each of these groups have a separate area of activity, as we shall see, but they also seem to have migrated at different times and in different ways. Our subject will not be lost if I go into it a little : we have already seen again that the distribution of the Juth\_ C' and their activity alternate with each other. On the northern coast we found Jews already during the 'fc^a-bytonic exit, and to the p. 57 said about them brau. I have nothing further to add, except that their now far greater distribution over this coast is not exclusively due to natural increase, but also to immigration,

^H wetche theits direct from Babytonia, theits from the kteinasiatisdC^  
^H inland stands. Not in any more definable n "C^"- ^^^ exitic times, from individuals as in cotoniemtLe "i^^ ^^B clusters, there must have been a frequent immigration of babytonian Jews into di^^

247

Biuetitand invented, and the (jesamnitzacht rter attmatig here have been so significant that masses of them could go out into more distant areas, and the inland gteichwoht kept a sizable Jewish population. Most of them probably came on the important trade route from the Euphrates via Ancyra (in Gatatia) to Byzantium. the assumption that they had immigrated via Syria or that they had

The fact that the Jews had only moved there from Babytonia is less easy, and moreover, not a single province of Stone Asia is easily accessible by land from Syria; the Taurus Mountains, which are difficult to cross, rise right in front of it, and even block off Citicien from it, which must come into consideration in view of its Jewish population. Of the Jews of the inland of Cteinasia, the Jews of the northern coast were the first to increase in number, and I assume that they sought out Eithynia in particular, as far as tribal brothers were already living there (vergt, note 9), as well as the aforementioned road to Byzantium, which led through this country; in any case, Phito spoke explicitly of Jews in Bithynia. In even greater numbers, however, Jews from the interior of Stone Asia, and again, but in clusters, to the western part of the Hatbinset, for there we found them living in large numbers, and those found on the islands of the Aegean Sea and in the northern and western regions of the Hatbinset can only be part of the largest part of the Hatbinset. have traveled there from the west coast of Cteinasia. This is not to deny that Jews could and may have migrated to this west coast from Syria, Cyprus, Phoenicia and even from Palestine: but this certainly happened only by individuals or a few, as far as it could only be experienced by sea, and for this reason not that very large Jewish population, wetcbe, as mentioned, lived on this west coast and also contributed the main human material to the Aegean settlements. This consideration can also not or only slightly be weakened by the news ant. 12, 3, 4 that

■ochus M. 2000 jadische Famitien aus Dabytoiiien uacb t'hrygien ' Lydieii ttberfittiku tiess; diese würden für die Eriktärünfi, wer die große jüdische Bevölkerung der Westktiste stammenme, [It is not enough to assume that they would have fled to the coast from the seats given to them. But this is not true for the majority of the settlers, since it is expressly stated there that they were given fields and vineyards to cultivate, and furthermore Phrygia and Lydia still had a tolerable Jewish population later on, which is certainly a great right for the descendants of those Cotons. Also, there was no legal protection for Jews in Phrygia and Lydia.

There is no reason to move to the coast, for example, because of the trade, since we will see that the setbe was also very hardy in these two countries. By what routes the Jews of the west coast m a y have come from the interior of Stone Asia

is difficult and even impossible to determine, but its itauit -

from that moving northwards in the Stone Asian inland ^

branched off westwards and led past the Tykaonian Laodicca to the west coast. About the origin of the numerous Jude" - in Mysieu I dare not make any assumptions, they can gteichfatts i'"^ ^ the inland country, they may have come from EithyBia, they may have come from T.ydi i-^==^ and Jonia to this northwesternmost corner" .^m But the Jews on the south coast, from Citicia to Caria, canii^^^^-i<

nonefatts from the interior, there would be the wild Taurus Mountains ^ 1

it was there, but vermnthtiah theUs from the Wc i-' . ^^t coast, theita to the sea from the only about ten times away^:: Cyprus, Syria and Phoenicia,

The activity of these groups is "kteinasiatistct" Jews can only be recognized, if only to a certain extent, of course, when we learn about the hand there in each""- ^n times have ever won a bitd. But this is the X "Jie just not to be summarized in a single bitd, it was" said that in Kteinasien there were four versctiiedenp HandC^iBte, and these only interlocked massively, "VVii' must therefore consider them separately, which of course is again a""-C'i' J

itwaa more space, and I will draw the two more important of them first.

The inland tami was, with the exception of some mountainous areas, , cauiii less fertile than the rest of Kteinasieu, C.ber gteich the Laiidera on the Poutus to the north of it.

.ticht sondertich angebaut, massiv bevötttert, und fast ohne Industrie : its domestic trade must therefore have been negligible.

The only export product that can be mentioned is the Angora goat. This goat thrived in the Atterthum

only with Ancyra (today Angora), its fabric is fine, soft, shiny, silky, and was already as sought-after as it was famous; now it is exported annually to Sü,0ÜÜ Ceutner, even though the finest fabrics are processed on site.

-become. However, the 'Transtthandet' must have been very important in this binneutaude: it has already been hinted at earlier,

<iass a trade route from the Eijihtrat split here and sent a right arm via Ancyra to Byzantium, a left arm via Sardis to Jonia; and not only did babytonian and other Asian goods go to the northwest and west on these roads, but also "Vvaareu from Jonia and

from Europe to the East, as we will see later.

Tauriis and several times traversed by emigrants from there, enjoyed a considerable cuttur of the soil as well as of the people only lineally, and their domestic trade must therefore have been insignificant; btos Tarsos, the capital of Citicien, is to be excluded from this, thatetbe was a rich, tuxuriose and even a city very devoted to the sciences. This coastal region was also completely landlocked, even towards Jonia, by the aforementioned mountains, and therefore it was almost impossible to think of a transit trade from there, from the sea or vice versa. Of course, this also restricted their sea trade, but it was not insignificant. There was a lot of shipbuilding, according to Strabo mostly cedars; of which there were many sctaves, in whose

J

250

The inhabitants of this coast, especially the Citicans, were very devoted to ihia; it should also be mentioned that this coast produced the best ^^^ saffron. The import from the sea, for consumption iui.mM

land, can only have been significant for Tarsos. The further" - sea hand of these kteinen Vötkerschaften uiuss sich auf beschränktC- jjj^ haben, innerhatb des östtichen Mittetmeeres an der Vermittetunj^ j:riu of the exchange of goods, but in doing so, they were able to take advantage of the eager merchants of other countries on this sea and later on , nor had the Roman ones to CoucurrentenC. I have here Apart from the island of Rhodus, this is much more suitable for the"."- suj. West coast, from which it was also torn away by a storm in prehistoric times,

I Grossaitig, on the other hand, was the Handetsfior on the north coast: "^ Jt." of Kteinasia and in its western part. On the southern shores of the Black Sea, the export of local products was not at all unimportant, namely wotte, shipbuilding iron, ammonium, a lot of wax, in which one even had to pay i\i tribute to grain, the jasper of Aniisus. ur

' a prized matter color , called the earth of Sinope ; ferm was the richest fishing on this whole coast, especially =rf the very tasty petamyde was caught in large quantities by dC"

Sinopians caught, and overfull were ^Jin^ichtungen to the egg

The famous ice-cream works of the ChaJybers must also be mentioned here, while I cannot attribute any sporting importance to the wealth of these shores in delicious southern fruits, and in the case of other countries it is not possible to attribute any sporting importance to them.

{e.g. at Cyrene) did not consider their surplus to these:"

was endangered, mostly the own southern countries were m~m

' Because of the atten, I cannot give Tarsos a big hand "=="C■  
btüthe KQBchreiben, wie gewühntich geBctiiehet, und wirklich führt nicht 1-^ ^  
"s Ptinius es auf ohne ein Wort Über seinen Handet, sondern setzenbst Strabo  
A detailed discussion of this city is completely silent on the subject, nor  
did it even have a proper harbor. For this reason alone, it is not possible  
to agree with those who would like to hide the "biblical TarsehiscL" in it.

251

tieii of the same or just as glorious fruit. Ub-  
But the rest of the trade on this northern coast was even more  
important. First of all, those goods that went from Babytonia to  
Byzantium and those that were transported from the latter on the  
same road to the Euphrates regions did not pass through Bithynia  
without the betrayal of its quay people. Then we have to consider  
the Pontic trade, by which I do not mean that on the coast of the  
Pontus landscape, but that from and to the harbors of the Pontus  
Euxinus operated by wetchem the  
the former only had a small part. At the same time, it was mainly in the  
hands of Byzantine, Ionian, Greek and later also Roman merchants: but it  
is inconceivable that  
the many nearby trading cities on the northern coast of Stone  
Asia would not have been affected by it, and an outline of it may  
be given here, where it was first commemorated. The Black Sea  
is perhaps not of such great importance even today for  
trade like damats. We have already mentioned exports from the  
north coast of Asia Minor. But products and other goods were also  
transported from Armenia, Assyria and Media to the south-eastern  
coast of the Pontus for sale in a manner to be specified in  
detail. And yet both were only minor in comparison to the traffic  
on the eastern and northern shores of this sea. Among the various  
routes, namely  
on which the Indian goods traveled westward was also a route  
across the Caspian and Black Seas. According to Strabo  
(in the 2nd and 15th book) deep from India even three roads to  
the Caspian Sea: a southern one through Drangiana, a more northerly  
one through the Stanimtand of the Parthians, but a still more  
northerly one, the most frequented of them, led to Bactria, and from  
there  
the goods were brought to the Caspian Sea on the easily navigable  
Oxusstrom; there are still traces on this sea  
of atten settlements of Indian merchants, which is already amat er-  
Banianen , and according to this may woht to this side

goods were transported to the Caspian Sea on the three roads mentioned above, from where they were shipped to the western coast.

I

Sä52 m

here, however, on the important river Kyros (Kur) and, na - ^ a four- to five-day wedding port to Lamte, on the kotd^Äi^ shy Ftusse Phasis brought to the Pontus, Here came au" \_"ic\i from the Laude of the Serians, whose location is not yet known, silk robes, furs, the best iron. In the handet on his . "i^aier On the coast, Kotchis also produced his own goods; attes for writing "z^aui necessary as well as many flax and famous linen, hemp, WaefcÄT -stis, 1 pitch. What else came into the Pontic handet can be more conveniently incorporated into a sample of the cradled and to be used in the The highly important hand sets, of which the Pontus has been surrounded by for centuries, have been However, I will only list the most important ones. On its southern coast there are Siuope, Amisus, Sampsame, but this (the post-matic Samsun) is not identical with Amisus, as Eini] claimed, then Trapezunt. On its eastern shore, Phasis aii the same-named Ftusse and Dioakurias. significant that it must have been in Kotchis the handet .is also evident from the statement in Ptin. 6, 4 that crutches led over (Fi: ^ the Phasis ] 2ü. And in Dioscorias, as StrsE^ "at" reports, according to some B00, but in reality 70 Vntksatftmi: "r jme, each of whom spoke a different language, came together for the purpose of handetsC; among many others, the Coraxian Wotte, who was famous in Att- ^C" tcr- thum, came from this ge" ^niL Then the port city of Tanais in the farthest corner of the M IK^täo- tian Sea, on the border of Asia and Europe, followed in the ^HZ ^o- mades from both brought sctaves, skins and soustz"" -tife'6 goods there, but it was precisely there that the most important fisheries^eiea and deployment sites. The western part of the Tau'i Chersones ^^ CCC-" was the richest granary for the Atten- after Egypt, and on

It was presumably on the shore of today's Kerch, the day Pa"' -C "C'■ capäüm, whose very respectable Haudetsiior only took off later. I conclude with Byzauz , whose handet since about 400 b. cmH^'''-

• Autii rüuiuB says U, n, TimoBthencs (a geographer iintev Ptot. ri-=Ci det(jhua) batie vuu ä()0 ikrtbiii /iiaaTiimciif^eBtrümteu Nacioneu sproctieu. "■

later hfttteo there the Röirier vermietteta 130 Dotmetsctier Handet getrictjcn ^ ^

imiiiPi' titiitietKtor iinit zutetz a f^rnssartif^er wiirite. As already mentioned, it was mostly western merchants who bought the

The products of the Pontus shores and the goods brought from afar to the shores of the Pontus; they also brought the inhabitants of this sea "pieces of defense, wine and other goods".

to "objects belonging to a civilized life", which words of Strabo awaken a friendlier idea of the state of dung there than Ovid gives of his Tomi for

found good. In the earlier centuries, almost only Jonians and European Greeks practiced this trade, and they had also founded numerous cotonies there to promote it, especially from Mitet and Athens; over time, Byzantium and Uhodus also took part in it, and even later and even the Romans, Atte had to ship past Byzantium for this purpose, which the latter used to introduce a sund- tant; because of the latter, the Rhodians even waged war with it around 222 BC. The Rhodians even waged a war with Byzantium over the latter in 222 BC, and later it had to "share the proceeds" with the Romans. But now that it has been shown how extensive and vigorous the Pontus trade was, it is to be hoped that the merchants in the so considerable trading cities on the northern coast of Cteinasia did not bluntly watch a competitive trade in the immediate vicinity, from which not even their own houses could remain untouched, without intervening in it in any way. It would be daring to formulate the manner of this, but the current state of affairs opened up enough opportunities for a profitable bet, and when would enterprising merchants have let such opportunities go unused?

According to its location, Mysia is to be counted as part of the ^northern as well as the western coast of Stone Asia, and its trade must have been significant; however, I have not found anything worth knowing about it, and therefore I will proceed without further ado to the rest of the two heights of the Great Hatbinset. This - among which

I not btos the coastal landscapes, but also attes ftach- tand behind them up to your mountain range, wetcher from the Taurus in a north-westerly direction as far as the Otympus, atso also C^ydia and the .this side of Phrygia and Pisidia.

was rich in all sorts of products and almost always very well cultivated, as well as inhabited by rich tribes, which, despite great other differences, generally had the reputation of being industrious, intelligent, sometimes even industrious, but also indifferent to indulgence and luxury of every kind, the only difference being that Vietes was less developed in the inhabitants of the eastern lines than in the Greeks on the coast. With regard to my topic, some of the products and manufactures that were mainly exported from there should be mentioned. First and foremost is the Mitesian wotte, the third best in the world according to Ptinius; however, Laodicea on the Lycus also had a strong cultivation of sheep, whose glossy black wool is even softer than the former. This must have been the reason why there was a strong trade in wool in Roman times, from which the inhabitants made an extraordinary profit. However, not only both types of wool, but also precious carpets and other fabrics from them were sold to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in large quantities. And since the islands not far from the coast belonged to the trading area of the mainland, I may not mention the silk produced on Kos, and the cote garments made from it, which are famous in Atterthum. Excellent wines from the area around Smyrna and from the islands of Kos, Chios and Lesbos were also widely exported. Ühios also produced black marble and much mastic, Ephesus the best kind of red lead consumed by the ancient maters, and another highly prized red came from Sardis. Imports were much greater here, however, and were only used for domestic consumption, although much more was exported. Some of Egypt's products and many more from Egypt, such as Phonicia, were brought here. The products of Arabia found their way here via Egypt as well as via Babylonia, in tethered to Babylonia itself: the great trade route from Seteucia on the Tigris to Zeugma on the upper Euphrates and its continuation from there to the west coast of Ktein- asia has already been mentioned. The Indian ones came via Egypt or Babytonia, but they were also carried by the Cotchian

255

We have already seen that the Jonians were among the most important theitholders of Pontiishandet, and naturally they also brought home from the other Poutian ports whatever they could gain. Naturally, the There are also products of the Üsttichereu landscapes of Kteinasia, Finally, the news that Apamea, on this side of Phrygia, was the most important staging post for the goods going eastward from Greece and Italy, will not lead anyone to conclude that these goods passed through, but apparently



other western provinces. However, since Itatia produced little that would have been suitable for sale to such great distances, the goods from there would have to be understood almost exclusively as those that came via Itatia, especially Spanish goods, because just as we saw them going to Palestine, they could also have been in demand in Stone Asia and Babytonia. I did not doubt that they were imported from many other countries, by sea and by land, but this was not the case, nor was it important.

What was said earlier about the country and its people is sufficient proof that in this western part of Stone Asia there was a very lively internal trade in both domestic products and goods imported there from so many different countries, something that could not be said of the other parts of Stone Asia. Even greater, however, must have been the trade in goods on and from the "west coast."

and to some extent it can be characterized in the following three sentences: it concerned both domestic and imported products, except that the purchase of the latter might have been even more

The foreign trade of these coastal dwellers seems to have been based on the ports of the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

- For the Zdt of the tet^tpii pharaohs is ün Hamid iXvv Muesier imd Sa-mier nacti Aegypteu vüUig coDStaürt, und die NacIt^ic^ht, dass mii (itß v. Chr. TOQ der ionischen Stadt Phocäa aus Maasitia gegründet wurde, vcrtiiii'^i

Black Sea: eiidtid) they themselves visited these harbors for buying and selling, but just as often ships came from there to this coast of Asia Minor to bring goods as well as to hoard them. Incidentally, we have already seen that Greek and - itatic < goods went from this coast to Babjtonia, and we may therefore assume that other goods were also brought eastwards from western Asia Minor, as Mitet in particular, even after his handet had already declined on the whole, was still in close contact with the Near East, the most notable sites of this western part of Asia may be listed below. Starting from the north, I will first mention the port city of Adramyttium and Pergamum; there are"

Smyrna, already as famous for its sea trade as for its beauty, then Ephesus, an emporium of the first

He was reputed to have sent out over eighty Cotonians to the coast and to have landed at Naukratus in Egypt as early as 749 BC. He was reputed to have docked at Naukratis in Egypt as early as 749 BC; the port city of Hatikarnassus and Rhodus are also included.

Among the numerous other islands of western Stone Asia, Kos, Samos and Chios stood out in terms of mercantile importance. In the western inland, Sardis, on the great road from the Euphrates to the Ionian coast, was still as important for the trade because of this and its carpet weavings, especially because of its great lightness and lnxn; Trattes is also of considerable importance because of its location on a road leading from Ephesus to the south coast of Maps, to give it a shorter connection with Rhodus; to the east the rich trading town of Laoiicea on the Lykos (vergt. p. 254) and Apamea, of whose gateway the Uede was, indeed must have been, the most important trading city in this region after Ephesus.

aogar an early handetSTerkehr Äerafetben naeti ttpm westtichen Mittct- sea: täBBt not tiieiaus ancti on the Bpkteron times siiUtiessen?

scUtiessau? ^^^^

§ 67.

Now I have to accept that be-

The immigration of the Jews into the four regions of Cteinasia under consideration was theitweiae i n exercise and for the exercise of a trade: but it may be asserted even more decidedly here, too, that at least after their naturalization in

These areas with the most expensive, the most expensive handets Viets of them must have been affected by the setbe. For example, we saw earlier how immensely troublesome the setbe was in Ancyra, Tarsus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Mitet, Rhodus, Sardis, Laodicea and Apamea, cities of which it is shown in note 34 that they had a Jewish population: and these had a Jewish population.

ahave they not, as far as possible, turned to an occupation that was predominantly cultivated in their place of residence and, as has already been said, was the most accessible to Jews? However, there is no lack of more positive indications that this was also the case here. It has already been pointed out above that among the 22 cities in Cteiuasia, of which at least one can be proven to have been inhabited by Jews,

16 were of mercantile reputation; here I add that in the western part of Cteinasia, whose handet gate far exceeded that of the other landscapes of this Hatbinset, 13 cities with Jewish populations could be named, but in the whole of the rest of Cteinasia only 9, although the latter was three times larger; and that of the four Cteinasian islands which stood out by handet, Rhodus, Kos, Samos and Chios, the three

were among the first proven Jewish residences:

the cities, regions, islands of the tebhaften Haudet  
the most popular? Let's also consider two other QuetJeu- angahen.  
It has already been recalled in an earlieru Autasse that atte  
Jews had to pay an annual tax of one  
paid the same shekets, and pious souls added a further amount;  
the foreign Jews set themselves up for Ceatratstetten, in wetche  
from atten communities of a

I

258

landscape or even an entire country, in order to be transmitted to  
Jerusatem from time to time by reliable messengers. Now we read  
ant. 14,7<sup>^</sup>,<sup>^</sup> that (around 70 BC) Mithridates took away 800  
patents, which had been collected from Jewish donations and  
deposited on the island of Kos; these were in Ciccnz "ni's j  
Speech per Ftacco c. 28, that (about ten years later") the predatory Ftaccus  
in four cities of western Cteinasia, Apamea, L ^ao-  
dicea, Pergamum and Adramyttiuni , these Jewish "Sammetget"- the"  
who in Apamea would have had a hundred pounds of Gotdes, the

less in the other cities mentioned. The district of these central  
cities could not have been of great extent, because Apamea was not  
so far away from Laodicea, and the other two cities mentioned  
were even closer to each other. The fact that the Jewish donations  
from Apamea, tn^otz

The fact that the massive distance of the collective city of  
Laodicea, amounting to huncim pounds of God's weight, evidently  
testifies to the quantity and wealth of the Apamaean Jews, but  
for the latter there was hardly any other source than the handet,  
and in addition one recalls what was said earlier about the great  
handet of this very city. The same was true of those 800 deeds on  
Kos: the Jews of Jonia and Caria will have sent their donations  
to the Gtaubensbrüder on Kos out of fear of Mithridates' greed,  
as Josephus suspected, but the size of the sum is only made  
clearer by the assumption that the Jews in both regions were very  
numerous and had become resident in the Handet, which was so  
large here, due to their active support. Now that the Jews were  
entering the trades of the natives in greater numbers, it became  
clear that"

the West Coast of Asia on their business trips"  
were often acquainted with other countries and islands, and if  
the circumstances were favorable, some of them settled there.  
We will look at their significant westward spread in the next  
chapter, but just as they came there, they certainly came to

We saw how much traffic the Jews and Hadians had with them. The Jews, who came so early

259

already on the northern coast of Stone Asia, received a much unwanted increase, and also ^woht in some places on the eastern and northern  
The busy Jews of Jonia are now settling on the shores of this sea.

Fifteenth chapter.

From the hand of European Jews at that time.

§ 68.

Ats the first group of Jews brought to Europe are who inhabited some of the islands and landscapes of Greece and the coast of Macedonia. They came  
There it comes mainly from the west coast of Stone Asia, but also more sparingly from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean and of Cyprus. When I sketched out the trade on the mainland and the countless islands of Greece, I felt  
However, it was only necessary to draw up a general description of this, and to add specifics for the individual types of trade that we know had a Jewish population. Domestic trade was btos in the rural areas.

The exchange between the mainland and the islands, as well as between the islands themselves, was of the greatest importance in the central Hettas (in Boeotia, Attica, the north-eastern part of the Petoponnese) and on Euboea, but not in the rest of its landscapes or on the other islands. On the other hand, between the mainland and the islands, as well as between the islands themselves, the most intensive exchange of products and art took place, since here nature gave its rich, but not the richest, gifts, and the inhabitants were so bright, active, industrialized, in some cases homely and also generally not poor, as well as

C Pointing out that according to Phito IL 587 Jews had lived äxqi - - . t&p roiJ nöyzov fivx&r (into the innermost corners of Pontus), and that according to Strabo in the 11th book Dioscorias, the famous emporium on the coast of Kotchis, was called >the innermost corner of Euxinus", I do not yet want to assume that Phito had this city in mind; but that Jewish merchants had come so far is, according to the above, unquestionable to me.

every pleasure of life and in the Centeru setbst dem Lnirf  
 were strongly devoted. Perhaps even more important, however, was  
 their trade with foreign countries. It has already been mentioned  
 above that they were in active trade with the western coast of  
 Stone Asia and with the Pontus states; in particular, they  
 imported the missing wheat and fish from the latter, for which  
 they supplied them with wine and a large number of artifacts.  
 They also maintained a lively trade with the coasts of Thrace and  
 Macedonia, as well as with the ports of the south-eastern arc of  
 Cyrene and Egypt  
 to Khodus, finally westwards with the ports of the Adriatic and  
 Sicily, later naturally also with the west coast  
 of Itatia, And your hands with these so numerous shores  
 The Greeks were not limited to supplying them with their own  
 goods, and to obtaining therefrom those which were in demand in  
 their Greek homeland, but they also contributed to the sale of the  
 products of the countries mentioned through the most active  
 intermediary trade.

Here, too, it is obvious that the Jews, after entering these  
 areas, would have had to  
 But this is not enough, for while in most of the countries of  
 Asia and Africa under consideration we were only entitled to  
 assume this for a fraction of the Jews who went there, I can  
 hardly doubt that the Jews living on the islands as well as on  
 the feattand of Hettas and west of it C damats almost  
 had only migrated there for trading purposes, since another  
 It is difficult to find a motive for a voluntary relocation of the  
 settlers to these territories or an external force that had pushed  
 them there. Let us now first examine the  
 Jews on the Greek islands, as far as they belong to Europe.  
 Mentioned from that time are btos those of Crete, Metos, Fuw

' Vietteicht with atteiniger Äusaatuue of the community in Rome.

Detoa "Uti Eubüa, uud setbstverstamttirti RrschÖpfeii diese Kufätügen

of the Greek islands, but of course I can only go into detail about these five. The unusually tedious navigation of the inhabitants of Crete is even attested by an ironic saying of the Athenians, which read: "The Cretan does not know the sea!", and at the same time this also served the sea robbery, for which the Cretans were notorious, but no less the handicraft, and especially from the city of Gortyna on this island, whose Jewish population is still particularly well established, it is reported that it had two harbors and a fourth trading post, which, however, has since declined. It has also been reported again that the residence of the Jews there was limited to this acquisition: but that of the Jews in Crete comes from tradition. Jud. 2, 7, 1 and from Josephus' statement in his vita § 76 that his father-in-law was one of the most respected of the Hellenes. The Hellenes Metos, Faros and Detos belong to the Cyclads and are not far from each other, Metos made some of his own products (sulphur, the best attar, and a white matter), but of course his port of call was not limited to this, and bett. Jud. 2, 7, 1. 2 shows that the Jews there were also very wealthy. Faros even had a flourishing trade, and his marriages should be remembered in particular, as it must give us an eigenthümlich feeling to think that the tebhafte Aus-The local Jews will also have made their living from the famous rock. Votends but Detos was one of the most important trading places of the Athenian West. It was a main port of call for goods coming from the east to the west, as well as for those coming from the west to the Orient. went. Its already tedious traffic increased significantly when it was declared a Roman free port in 168 BC; it now took over a part of the trade of Rhodes, and He benefited even more from the destruction of Corinth, weshatb Somewhat later, the poet Lucitius called it Dicaearchia, which was the most important trading city in Italy after Rome, "Klein-Detos". Afterwards it suffered greatly under Mithridates, but still

Strato reports that the celebration of the Apollonian festivals was associated with a mass, and that such a huge, jumble market supplied especially from Cilicia. It was that you could become ten thousand tons in one day. I The active Verfassung von Detos is of recent origin. Final stitch in on Euböa, its capital Chatkis enjoyed an important reputation. [tending Handels C, an even more tebhafte Eretria; and for the Fort I of the Hellenes in this it also would testify that from her numerous Coto- 'nien went out to Macedonia, Italy and Sicily. On the

' Aetolia, Boeotia, Attica and 'the Peloponnesus, from which  
 \ just explicitly mentioned is that they had a Jewish population,  
 but of the first three no city is at  
 ' Residence of a settlement indicated by name, whereas we found,  
 that Jews lived in Athens and in the Peloponnesian cities of  
 Sicyon, Corinth, Argos and Sparta. Nothing is known of the  
 mercantile importance of Thessalia and Aetolia, but Boeotia  
 maintained a close trade with Italia, I Sicily, Libya and the  
 coasts of Asia. Athens, with three good harbors, was at the time of  
 its Persian occupation a trading center.  
 of the first rank; its merchants visited all the ports of the  
 Aegean, Black and South-Eastern seas, mainly to meet  
 . to meet the enormous domestic demand and luxury goods there  
 but also to export their own national products - namely  
 weapons, cloth, household utensils, wine and oil; in addition,  
 they will not have disdained to export  
 [ to take part in the exchange of goods that existed between the  
 coastal states. However, foreign ships :  
 I to Athens, to bring or hoard goods, mostly from the  
 and the Ionian Greeks as well as Phoenician, later also Alexandrian  
 "e. Hardly less important was the domestic trade of Athens, and it is  
 mainly to it that we first encounter there an organized trade law and a  
 trade police. Thucydides  
 Athens also took a free hand in its political constitution, and a  
 considerable part of it passed to Corinth: " -

^^

' A named article of the same m

very good article GU Erarbeit

263

It still had centuries of importance, and it was for this  
 reason alone that it was necessary to mention it here, for at  
 the time of its fourth age there were no Jews living in  
 Athens. There is no mention of a sizeable trade in Sicyon, but  
 all the more so of the Corinthian one. This was of great  
 importance even before the aforementioned decline of the  
 Athenian one,  
 But now Corinth became one of the most important trading centers  
 of the Attic world, and the Jews joined it. Votkreich, a home, art-  
 loving and the seat of a very lavish life, it had to

It was the first manufacturing town in the whole of Greece, and its great reputation in weaving, dyeing, metalwork, pottery and sculpture ensured it a much sought-after export trade. But its natural location was also particularly good. A little to the side from the isthmus named after it, it possessed three harbors, two on its eastern side, which served its eastern trade, and one on the western side, through which its ever-increasing traffic with Thyrria, Italia and even more western countries was mediated. Thus Corinth became a true center of the trade between Orient and Occident, and to facilitate transportation it had a wide roadway on the isthmus, on which not only goods, but also transferred smaller ships from its eastern ports to the western ports and vice versa. Corinth is known to have been destroyed 146 B.C. and whether it had already been destroyed before, at the time of its highest development. It is not possible to determine whether Jews lived in it at the time of the first century, but after 70 years it was rebuilt by Caesar and regained great mercantile importance, which benefited the Jews who could now be found there. At its destruction was a considerable part of Corinth's wealth. Argos, and the latter became the collective seat of the Roman merchants in Greece, without being completely replaced by the latter. Finally, Sparta was never again a place of trade importance, but even when the Spartan constitution was still in force, the surrounding inhabitants (Perioikoi) carried on a not insignificant trade, and this must have been the case later on, any opulence there also tore itself apart.

■ Let's extend an eye to

■ Macedonia. We know of Jewish communities in Thessalonica and Beroea, but it is assumed that there were also Jewish communities in

some other cities in this country, namely in Philippi!

Its abundance of grain, wine and oil, its rich gold and silver mines, its numerous harbors, and finally the fact that Macedonia had come so strongly to the foreground of power and

The luxury that this brought naturally outweighed the state's solution - this guarantees us a very extensive export and import of the country. But the Macedonians were not a special Jewish people, and presumably experienced this like these were mostly carried out by foreign merchant drivers, as well as the procurement of domestic goods for export and distribution.

of the imported Jews were often replaced by immigrants from abroad, but the Nicaean Jews must have been strongly represented among the Gentiles. From a handbook of the cities of Beroea and Philippi we know nothing, but Thessalonica was a headquarters of the trade between Europe and Asia, also leading to Ptolemy's time a trade route from there to Alexandria as well as to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic Sea; and these favorable



circumstances may even have led to a large Jewish population.

community of Thessalonich was always one of the largest in the Orient. - The fact that the commercial south coast of Thracien was also visited and inhabited by Jews can hardly be doubted, but there is a lack of data on this.

1

Let us now look for traces of Jewish activity in Italia at that time. The first positive traces of a Jewish community in Rome can only date back to the year

Thasoa

sweet-ni

C On this road went to Mommaen 4, 40 wine ■ Lesbos westwards.

- " For the following data, in order, ver<sup>t</sup>. Berachot 19, a, Ptutarcti <sup>^</sup>-f:<sup>h</sup> in Cicerone c. 7, Cicero pro Ftacco c. 28, bett. Jud. <sup>^</sup> 6, 1, tacituft' t

70 B.C., attein it must be of a later date, since a year later Cicero was already convinced that its influence could be felt even in the Forum; but afterwards it must have been extremely numerous, because "over 8000" (btos men?) joined a Jewish legation to Augustus around 3 BC! Later, Tiberius may have picked up a few thousand Jewish youths there and deported them to Sardinia, but the Roman community was so large under Claudius that he would not have dared to carry out his wish to expel them from Com. There is no need to speak here of Rome's immense population, of the dance of its imperial court, of the rectitude and exemplary luxury of countless great men, but it goes without saying that the needs of this competitive city could only be satisfied by the most energetic hand. From all over Italia and from all ports of the Roman betting their backers became necessities of life. Delicacies, brands

The Romans were now thirsty for goods of every imaginable kind, as well as for the glory of war. Of the eastern regions, it was mainly Greece and its territories, the coasts of Pontus, the west coast of Stone Asia, then Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, India, from where they obtained or sourced their goods, for example, we have already seen p. 234 what enormous sums the goods cost the Roman empire, which came from were introduced in the two last-mentioned countries, and it is obvious that a very large part of them came from the Rome; the western countries were now Gattien and Spain were the Romans' most important sources of supply; we will have to look at the great product wealth of the latter later. Roman exports were not significant, however, because whether

2, 85, Dio Cassins 60, 6. Tacitiis speaks there of 4000 young men deported from Rome, but it has mostly been overlooked that he does not mean only Jewish ones, but that he gives this figure for the deported 'Egyptian and Jewish' together.

r

I

Although Itatia was a blessed land, it mostly consumed its own natural products, titos wine and oil it must have yielded abundantly; and its industry of both lower and higher kinds was negligible. Despite its favorable location, its intermediate trade was also not very extensive and consisted almost exclusively in the fact that a considerable proportion of the goods brought from Spain and Gattia were delivered to the eastern Europeans, while those from the Orient were still only sparse and also where they went to the countries on the western Mediterranean at the behest of the eastern Haudetsvötter. In contrast, the inland trade was all the more widespread and more intense in Itatia at that time. In Rome, however, the stone trade was carried out by freedmen and citizens of the lower classes, often only in such a way that they carried the proceeds of their estates to the capital for sale on behalf of respected landowners of the provinces who had sent them to the capital, as well as in the service of wholesalers, or carried the goods around for sale and praised them too insistently. It should also be mentioned that in Rome and other important The fact that exchange and other transactions were carried out in many Itatian cities. The fact that from these branches of trade

ktar, but two particular points should be made in this regard. Firstly, some of them must have been very successful in gaining influence in high families and even in the imperial palace, so that it was not the other way round that commercial transactions led to this influence, as was the case with Jews of the Middle Ages.

atters often happened. Secondly, it may be inferred from the fact that, as already mentioned, the stone trade there was predominantly in the hands of the freedmen, that it was mainly the wealthy Jews who lived in the quarter "beyond the Tiber" who dealt with it; they had been brought to EonC-, as prisoners of war, but were later released en masse, and were then taken to EonC-.,.

deshatb mentioned with the name Vihp.Hmi ffenrrrrrh or also btos nu' the name "Libertiner" C. Femer we saw seh'

C Vergt. Thito II, ö6a, Tacit.ns' Aiinateu 2, 85, ApoBtetg. 6, 9.

267

that at that time, of all the other cities in Itatia, only Dicaearchia or Puteoti, as the Romans called it, expressly appears as the seat of a Jewish population, and that his hands would have drawn them there. Perhaps the first Jews there came from Atexandria, but in any case

we have already encountered p. 237 a business connection between the Jewish Atabarch Dasetbst and Dicaearchia, and Strabo testifies to the fact that Alexandrian merchant ships came there in droves. It was on the coast of Campania, and its tents were, according to Livy 32, 7

was already important around 200 BC, but only after his After the port had been greatly enlarged by artificial additions, it became one of the busiest in Italy and was visited from all over, especially by richly laden ships from Spain and Egypt. The fact that the rich and pleasure-loving Roman emperors were able to spend their holidays here and in the nearby cities of Naples and Egypt contributed greatly to the town's popularity.

Bajā or any other place in this paradisiacal region. The fact that the Atexandrians took such a long detour with their goods destined here

and did not take them to the ports closer to them from Brundisium and Taranto, although a road led from these two cities to Capua, i.e. fairly close to Dicaarchia, was presumably done in order to avoid the more laborious land transportation across the Apennines for freight and also return freight, which they usually took home with them. Dicaarchia, however, became and remained a first-rate trading center, even ahead of Rome, which actually consumed btos, in the exchange of overseas goods.

They probably also referred to Sicily's Jews (cf. note 34), but it would be impractical to go into the Sicilian handet. However, those who were transferred to Sardinia by Tiberius were presumably even not in such a position that they are within this trading history.

2BS

tidien Uittersut<sup>h</sup>uiig in Betnwht zxi; <teuu Tacitiis says of them that they were datiugesctiickt to >fight deep into the local scaffolding, and if they were worn down by the severity of the KUraa's, it would have been a small lossC.

Apart from these, it may seem somewhat surprising that, apart from Simnia, there is not a single country on the western shore of the Mediterranean where there is a trace that Jews already lived at that time. However, this does not yet prove that this was true, but it is quite probable, and in any case the number of Jews in these western lands must still have been very small at that time, as Phito, in his list (IL 587) of Jewish residences in his time, does not mention any country or town in which Jews lived.

westlich von ürtechentand mitneunet. It is particularly striking that at present there is still no trace of Jews in southern Gattia, whose handet was so extremely important." And the absence of any trace that Jews were resident anywhere on the entire northern coast of Africa from Cyrene westwards must not be explained by the fact that the Carthaginians were known to be so extremely jealous of their atteinhandet, which they could no longer maintain since their Potitian overthrow. Rather, it seems that the Jews, precisely because their expansion was by and large a voluntary one, only gradually moved into more and more western areas.

and had not traveled further west around the time of the destruction of Jerusatem.

• King Agrippa IL, in his beautiful speech znm Frieden bett. Jud. 2, IG, 4, told the Jews that the Gattier had the quettes dca piece in itircn ttändea and overflow almost the entire globe with their goods. It is nictii from this it is certain that at that time also in Fatastina there was knowledge of the great meaning of the Gattic handet: Agrippa may have often heard of it in Eom, or Josephus may have heard of it there and put these words into his mouth, that the spokesman of that speech was more to his liking.

not attzuviet later Jehamot 63, a der Handet sschiiTe gedacht, wetche von ^  
Gattien nach Spanien fahren.

CC The land of the Berbers is mentioned in the Tatmud, vergt. p. 240, but "-  
" not as the residence of Jews.

269

Bios Spain makes an exception, presumably

As we saw earlier, Jews had been venturing there for many centuries,  
at first only in community with Phoenicians, but after they had gone  
on to become active and independent.

It follows just as much from this as from its great distance that  
Spain was actually visited by Jews beforehand for the sake of the  
trade, and that, even if some of them had settled there and given  
the impetus for subsequent migrations, the number of Jews in  
Spain could only have been a massive one. It is certainly not  
compatible with this that the apostle Pautus wanted to go there,  
which could only have had the purpose of gaining numerous prose-  
tytes from them and possibly founding Christian communities. I  
can only explain this contradiction to myself by assuming that it  
is true.

that the Spanish Jews in the Judaism of that time had a sotchen  
The apostle's intention was that others, including Pautus, were led  
to believe that there was a large Jewish population living there.  
But they had a reputation far and wide, which is clear from the  
apostle's intention,

and this reputation, in turn, could only have arisen through their  
effectively significant hand. Without doubt, the older Jews, but  
presumably also these later ones, sought out the same region of  
Spain in which the Phoenicians had preferred to settle, namely the  
southernmost, Turdetania, where, according to Strabo, most of the  
cities were still inhabited by Phoenicians in his time, and he also  
says that the capital of this province was formerly called  
Tartessus. The main goods exported from there were: grain and  
Wine in great quantity, very much oet of excellent quality, wax,  
pitch, much scarlet color, best red lead, which was used much for  
paintings and statues (according to Ptin. 33, 40 went from it  
btos to Rome at 10,000 pounds a year), also a valued blue color;  
furthermore sea eels, moray eels, many tunas, which grow large and  
fat there, many oysters, mussels, many salted fish, in that there  
would also be very important facilities for use; best catfish (for  
a breeding fox a tattent is paid there too far) and fine tissues  
of it; many

270

Gold, Silver, copper, Bte and Eiaen: the Gold mines there were state property at the time, but most of the Gold was extracted by laundries, up to large quantities, and those digging on Silver gained an average of one talent each in three days, just as the Carthaginians had found Silver cribs and barrels at the Turdum. From other sources I learn that the country also harbored cattle, honey and marble, and that the trade with Spain had much to suffer from pirates from the Batean islands. Of particular interest for our purpose, however, is Strabo's further statement that the largest cargo ships sailed from Turdetania to Ostia, the port of Rome,

and to Dicaearchia, because they help us to understand the Jewish settlements in Spain at that time. Assuming, as was shown earlier, that no other country west of Italia had a Jewish population at that time, it would still be somewhat difficult to understand where it might have come from in Spain; for this country was so far removed from the eastern and even from the Greek Jews that only a few of them could have dared to visit it, but not as many as seem to be necessary for the elucidation of the Jewish population of Spain at that time. However, southern Spain was in the most intensive shipping and trade connections with precisely those two cities in Italy where we found Jews, in Rome there was even an extremely large Jewish community, and we had to give the Jews of Rome and Dicaearchia, it is hardly doubtful that the Spanish Jews of that time came there for the most part, but definitely, but in a somewhat cotonymous community, in the manner already p. 206 described. They may have settled in several places, but only one of them can be named from the quotes, Carthago on the southeastern coast, with one of the safest harbors in Europe and the seat of the most active trade with Italia and Africa.

J

S c h l n s s.

§ 71.

Herewith I close our circular and, at the same time, my history of the Jewish hand; but may it be granted to summarize the main moments of the latter here. I hope to have provided sufficient evidence first and foremost, that the Jewish tribe, although not from its origins a

He was often said to be from Wohtwotten, but even during the Bibltian period he possessed the mental agility and willingness to devote himself to it in times and circumstances favorable to beer. Satomo had even been willing to direct his attention to this path to a greater extent, the Btick on the neighboring country of Phoenicia, a friend of his, asked for an effective spur. However, almost all of his successors had no sense of this, and so Israet remained on the middle stage until the exit, that it also did trade, to a greater extent than is usually assumed, but agriculture, animal husbandry and the raising of crafts for daily needs were still its main occupations, the scanty traces of a very modest industry found do not change this. However, the experienced two E.tites and the return from Bahyton did not allow us to continue talking about Israet as a whole, the theites of the torn Votke had to go their own way and they did. Those who had returned from Bahytonia For centuries, Jews lived in the most meagre conditions and followed the above-mentioned occupations of their pre-Semitic ancestors, not exactly to the exclusion of trade, but this was hardly worth mentioning among them. However, we saw that and why it was quite significantly ftoders in the Greek period In the two hundred years before the destruction of Jerusatem by Titus, the Palestinian Jews were still not a merchant community, indeed they never became one, but in addition to agriculture and a little more trade than before, the mercan-

272

tic traffic of any kind was carried on in Palestine to the same extent as in any other Cutturvotke of the Aettertbum of not exactly pronounced handet direction, whereas the Jewish population of the Palestinian seaside towns, however, decidedly took this direction, and Jerusatem in the form of the previously listed Antasse - was not a handet city, but the seat of a very important handet. After its destruction and vottends after the catastrophe of Betar sauk the Palestinian handet ausserordenttich; vöttig he did not stop there either, as has been sufficiently demonstrated above, attein of what eye could he be with a population that was not decimated, but mucked up and plundered to a decima, as well as being exposed to a great deal of expropriation and atten extortion? at ihi- had the saying Zef, 3, 12 erfttUt:

- I leave in you a poor and weak man who trusts in the seed of God".

The Jews had to follow completely different paths in the countless countries of their dispersion. Wherever possible, they turned still likes to indulge in a certain amount of hereditary



Egypt, also in Cyprus: but even there it was only possible in some places, and in other countries of the diaspora only a little or not at all. Furthermore, where it was possible, some of them made a living in the local industries, at least in Babylonia and Egypt, but also elsewhere.

And craftsmen for daily needs, such as bakers, fishermen, tailors, shoemakers and so on. , as well as of little people who offered themselves for manual labor of various kinds . was certainly not lacking among them, especially where they lived together in large numbers, as was the case in every larger community later on; and where the rest of the population was not exactly hostile towards them, which better relations in the old pagan times occurred much more often than later among the Christians, these Jewish craftsmen were also

woht found some use of itu. However, in consideration of these types of modest breadmaking were

not set the circumstances more unfavorable, and moreover the stirj£3- J

273

The brightest of them were not particularly attracted to these mechanical and, admittedly, low-paid professions; The trade they saw them practicing in many of the countries and cities where they lived was more appealing to their natural liveliness; in any case, it was the most accessible source of income for them in many cases, and, as I have already said, it brought in more, and they would not have been the first to acquire the most effective means of protecting themselves against violence or obtaining a tolerable settlement - as was often the case in the Middle Ages. Could it be otherwise that many of them turned to this trade with zeal?

and that their invention drew many people onto this path? That the Jews have never lacked the skill to do justice, was already conceded earlier, but the present training in it increased their mercantile abilities still further, and this, combined with

with the rich profit of this occupation, a decided inclination for this, which was foreign to the oldest Jews, arose. This awakened inclination also contributed to the spread of the Jewish tribe and to the directions,

after wetchen tiin dieseetbe erfotgte, wesentlichlich contributed. Namely

However, many an onward migration, of individuals or a few as well as of flocks at a time, will have been carried out with the intention of seizing every means of acquisition in the new "place of residence without prejudice that it would offer : but the already at that time (at the end of the first Christian century) so extraordinarily large distribution of the Jews presupposes such an uncountable number of ever new migrations that the motive given is hardly sufficient to explain it.

and more powerful than the awakened spirit of the trade,  
<ter had an even more international flavor than in the modern  
era, and thus toured to other countries; after all, to attack  
Cotonieu was a characteristic feature of ancient Han-  
<tets; we also encountered quite a few Jewish settlements, which  
only from this well erktären Hessen, and schtiesstich  
<The Jewish diaspora of that time, as far as we have been able to  
understand and Qbcr-"bticken it, only extended over countries and  
cities,

18

274

Insetn by btühendem Hamid , from Gegendeo without sotchen almost  
not a single name of a former Jewish residence appears  
- That can't be coincidental. Itieraufhin may in this  
It may be repeated that the great spread of Israet and its  
increasingly widespread activity have undeniably had a reciprocal  
effect on each other: the latter has brought it to more and more  
localities.  
of the country in question and from it to ever greater distances,  
and, conversely, the increased dispersion of Israel as a result,  
combined with the advantages for emigrating to trading places or  
to mercantile regions, attracted more and more Jews to this  
subject, who until then had sought to support themselves in other  
ways. Continued research within my subject has confirmed this  
changing effect again and again, and to a large extent in  
retrospect I have so often followed the traces of Israel's spread  
in this work. But so it came to pass - I will not repeat Strabo's  
statement that in his time "not a place on the inhabited earth  
was to be found which was not inhabited and ruled by this race":  
for out of disfavor he seems to have taken his mouth too far in  
this respect, but at any rate it came to pass in the manner  
indicated that after a few centuries, and on the whole without  
any apparent necessity  
Jews were resident in the area of anssen ^ from isotirate Spain

I apart ~ in the landscapes from Media to Rome, from Pontus to the  
Persian Gulf, from Macedonia to Ethiopia, and that in this immense  
area of land there was no significant trading city in which Jews  
were not represented, the non-Patestinian Jews had evidently  
already then become predominantly a trading community.  
:

ä before-

But the fact that they have taken this direction no longer needs to be explained to the sensible people of our time in terms of cultural history or morality. If this were necessary, it would be a necessity for every man, aicji

^^f 375 1

^^Bbid to feed their own people. With the help of agriculture, many of them did this in some countries, but in most of the others it was obviously hardly possible for foreigners. I They lacked industrial skills as a whole, and to acquire them subsequently had to be just as difficult in countries that were jealous of their 1 domestic industries as it was with the owners of tried and tested skills I to enter into concurrence; this is not made impossible by the fact that 1 it must have been very difficult in Attge- 1 mine in Atexaudria and Babytonia. Hardly any other way could 1

It may be in consideration of the lesser trades, but one only has to forget the great difficulties that it still made fifty years ago to find a Christian master craftsman for a Jewish boy. So already in those atten times the] Handet was the closest and most accessible profession to them, already J

■ insofar as one did not need a pagan teacher for his salvation, but also in every other respect. In 1 which, as I have said, this indemnification or justification is

"However, today it is clear that our time has recognized, even if not yet to the point of applying it to Jews, that the honourable trade is not a hair's breadth better or worse than any other legal gainful activity, but that it also contributes to the cuttur j

■as has contributed more to the benefit and comfort of mankind than J any other - their vot interest in the work 1

"ler Vütkerigesittung also in this way I claim for the Jews 1 of that period and setbst des Mittetatters. Similarly, Kiessetbach ("Der Gang des Wetthandets" p. 28) said thata j

■during the collapse of Roman rule, the young J

"tic merchants provided the link between Asia and 1 Üiropa and thus acted as the bearer of the moving ownhuras J

Cten first sociate nutrient into the agricultural existence of middle I

"urope ; and p. 46 he added that the Jew had been an economic necessity I at the beginning of the Middle Ages. He would only have applied these so correct sentences to earlier

Siten and extend it to many other countries. J I have

therefore intentionally spoken of the honorable!

indets companies, because it may also be that under 1

the Juitea of that time would have been just as good as in the hands of every Votke and Zeitatters, it seems very much that among the former the percentage of de^

Unredtichen was a kteinerer ats among the other Handetsvötterr.^ . of the Atterthum. I do not say this out of partisanship, I know -^^ ttat before Atten the business director should have freed himself from this weakness ', and I have not concealed above that the Jewish merchants of Lydda in Patastina and three towns in Isabytonia were once in great repute, but photographic reasons have moved me to this judgment. Merit Mishnah

and Tatmud Gtauben's concern with these isolated anctages, it also deserves the most attention that no further anctages of this kind occur in these so extensive and morally narrow works. Furthermore, I do not wish to attach great importance to the fact that in the third book of the Sibyttines, in a longer section in praise of the Jews, it is also said of them;

The "right measure is with them in cities as well as in the countryC; but it deserves the highest recognition that until the middle of the third Christian century the legal principle was valid before the Jewish court that "no one had the impudence to completely deny his protection to a deceiverC C. Furthermore, the enemies of the Jews of that time were certainly not lacking in insults of the most outrageous as well as the most ridiculous kind, I will only recall Apion and those listed against him in Josephus' writing as well as Tacitus: but I did not find the accusation of great dishonesty in intercourse among them!

We also saw p. 8. 50. 75, how much the Bibet insists on honor, and have quite splendid regulations in this respect.

the post-Biblical laws were added, the most important of which were added above in § 48. It does not yet follow from this that they have been confirmed, but in the case of a small church which, like the Jewish church, already followed the precepts of its own religion almost to the letter and was so strongly attached to it precisely because of its "rigid adherence".

by Tacitus, is the assumption that it was not

C Erst U. Nactimau tipsiritt itin uiit fiitirte dpai äii^onftnnteR 7TtKs<-s-Eid.

just the rules of honor will have exempted from his other great fidelity to the law, all the more justified because there is an absolute lack of judges of the opposite, but not of in

It can be argued that in this respect at least it could not have been any lower than the other civilizations of that time, the Babylonians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans and so on. whose religions did not find it at all necessary to produce such writings - they were not Jews, who had a God of merchants and thievesC.

At the end of the day, the Jews of the time, although they had become an itandetsvotk, were not completely absorbed in this commercial activity. These same men, wherever their p'uss took them, to the farthest and the nearest countries, did not stop there.

C When Leutzutago pamphleteers portray the Jews as vampires, they are mistaking their purposes here; and if novelists do this or only briefly mention a Jew without attaching a market to him, their taste, often also without regard to the taste of their readers, dictates this to them. It was painful to me, however, that even a man like Ebers did not disdain to mention a Jew in his much-read novel "Eine ägyptian King's Daughter", from the years 528 - 525 BC, in the same sense, namely in the first volume of the same K. 2 he has "whipping Phoenicians of Pataestina" appear at the battlefields of Otympia, and again in K. 4 he has an Egyptian temple servant proclaim: "now our streets are filled with deceitful Hebrews", and in the third volume K. 6, he knows of no one more appropriate to Aristomachus on his flight from the mines than a young Jew whose right hand had been cut off due to the application of fat weight - furthermore, he remembers in this work of the Jews. Now I will not go into how highly improbable the two assumptions are that already in those early years, immediately after the Babylonian exit, Jewish merchants would have visited Otympia and the streets of the Egyptian cities would have been teeming with them. But what those settlements I must not pass over such a cardinal point in a history of the ancient Jews, however great my aversion to atte poetics may be, and I must therefore, on the basis of what I have said, protest decidedly against it. What the later Jews, wrongly or rightly, are accused of in this respect is called Roh. Prutz eimiat (Die deutsche Lit. der Gegenwart 2, 111), "the sides of the Jewish character imposed by the Christians": but the Jews of the Atterthum were in any case still free from the demoratizing effects of the treatment that their descendants experienced in the Middle Ages and until two Mcnschnattcrn ago,

To build synagogues, to win scribes for them, often to bring them along, to establish poor relief funds and introduce regular meals for the poor, as well as to establish a Jewish religious life in general; with Jerusatem, as it stood, to drive

connection; and the ceremonial and sedentary religious rules which came to them from Pataestina, and later from Babytonia, were familiar to them and became the norms of life for them. Once, under Nechemiah, the walls of Jerusatem had to be built with the right hand, in which tinken had the weapons: similarly, the Jews of the period under review, and no less their middling descendants, were with one hand men and true bearers of the Jewish doctrine of God.

I conclude by reiterating the wish that younger hands would like to write the history of Jewish history in the Middle Ages and modern times.

Notes.

Note 1, to p. 3.

The words Deut. 33, 18. 19 "Rejoice dicti, Setiutuu, in thy going forthC and "the riches of the seas they suck" must be understood to mean

80 unzweifethafter refer to Handet, ats den orsteren entfcegen- set sund dn, Jissaciar, in deinen Zetten", and also 1 Mos

49, 13 the longing is certainly not btos for the catch, he will "dwell on the shore of the seas, on the coast of the ships, and his hips reach as far as Sidon". From the Aunabnic that Sebutun viet with pagan merchants, the inserted words: "the votaries call them to the mountain to offer there sacrifices of the right dusts", the concipient expected from that peaceful intercourse Niessian inventions. And the "hidden treasures of the sand" promised here refer mainly to its use for the preparation of gta, as Jonathan already recognized; it is known from Bett. Jud. 2, 10, 2 and from Tacitus hist 6, 7 that the bank sand of the small river Betus near Acco was used for this purpose, and according to Strabo 16 the dune-like bank between Acco and Tyre also deepened this sand. Now Eicht. 1, 31

Acco moved to the territory of the tribe of Asher, and ib. 5, 17 the latter tribe appears to be in possession of that coast, while Jos. 19, 10 - 16 Sebutun's inheritance is not at all connected to the sea, and according to ib. 17, 10 Menasheh's inheritance extended by the sea as far as Asher. Attein it seems that later Sebutun acquired this stretch of coast from Asher or took it from him, perhaps after the victory of Deborah, to which Sebutun contributed so substantially.

had, while Ascher had scolded back, or under the later Judge Eton, who was a Sebutuuite; also consider that bett, Jud. 2, 18, 9 a city of Zabuton moved to the Sähe vou Ptoteraais

and it is possible that this is the one mentioned in Jos. 19, 27. Both blessings, of Jacob and of Moses, whose composition the Bibetan Criticism places in later times anyway, must have been composed only when this coast passed from Asher to Zebulun. was, for otherwise the promise to Sebutun would not be in both incomprehensible, but also that in both there is not a single word for Asher that refers to the sea. But that in both blessings Sebutun is promised to Sebutun shipping, and not also to the other tribes, to whom a part of the sea coast is approaching, vindicates these promises with an existing historical reference. And since this voyage of Sebutun must have taken place long before it was mentioned in these promises

can, it has already said without doubt in the judge's time, C

This is also supported by the fact that Sebutun is not would have been involved in the Ofir voyages if people of his tribe had not already attempted other voyages, he would not have made the first attempt with the largest one. Incidentally, as I said, Sebutun's shipping could only have been invented after the coast in question had passed from Asher to him.

and apparently this change of ownership took place at the time of the judges, namely at the two times indicated, which favored the rise of Sebutun, at least in the royal period; again this Occupation itself, however, must have been preceded by some awakened activity, otherwise it would not be possible to see what Sebutun would have done to go after a piece of the sea coast.

That Jos. 5, 17 Asher appears in possession of the coast there and its harbors, while Jos. 1, 31 says that he did not take the maritime cities of Acco and Achsib; and that according to Jos. 3, 17 Dan had also advanced to the sea, while according to Jos. 1, 34 the Amorites had conquered him.

could not have come down from the mountains: Both of these things, but especially the latter, show that the statements Jos. 1, 31 and Jos. 1, 34 refer to the time before Deborah and must originate from it.

Note 2, to p. 7.

The Babylonian Mantet, which came from the spoils of Jericho. C  
Achan was not taken there through Phoenician mediation. Furthermore, even if it is an exaggeration that the Tyrians told Herodotus (2, 44) that their city was already 2300 years old, it is not

was founded around 1248 and since Tyre was founded by Sidon after  
 Jnbt n 8 3 and Isa 23, 12 orteu ht o nuss tetzteres natür! 1 uo h  
 be viet ätter, w kt cU w rt it 1 Mo 4'" 13 so^a Jat b time set  
 up. Also he n,ge one that of phon, z cn from s ho over  
 from early, and woht only in the interest te Uan tets Coton n on,  
 h kt were found, so e.g. sott ach ii totetes te n abt (, 146 ch  
 ten phoenizisctien Annatcn have daas Ltica ten na hmats

Carthaginian Geh et 287 year before Carthage was founded in  
 1175; according to Vett, Pat, 1 2 and Mota, the foundation of  
 Cades in tern fine Spai en can be attributed to around 1100 and  
 Kadmus even as early as 15 o ne (.oton ha h Gr e hentand j,  
 Laben ja Ebers witt in the papyrus he recorded in the 16th  
 century B.C.)

Christian centuries have already found phon zi che '~i hi ften used. It  
 will h e nj, h n ht bc zwe t It e ! u 1 rfen ta to Mo e  
 Time of idiönizisite H ut 1 s 1 ! btQt 1 ge e n p nu

Note 3, still on p. 7.

I think differently, that according to Gen. 15, 18. 2 Mos. 23, 31.  
 Deut. 1:7 and 11:24; Jos. 1:4 the land of Israel was to extend as far as  
 the Euphrates. Of course, this was not meant to include the vast desert  
 east of Perea, which is almost seven degrees wide, but the stretch of  
 land that extends in a northeasterly direction, above Damascus, to the  
 Euphrates River, which has come much closer there. And it would have  
 been very understandable to also claim the magnificent southwestern part  
 of this strip of land for Israet, but then there would still be a very  
 wide desert as far as the Euphrates, and one would not understand why or  
 for what purpose this was also wasted, if  
 It is overlooked that a famous trade route from Babylon to the  
 Mediterranean led through it, then via Tadmor and Damascus, whose  
 possessions were priceless. But it seems to me that Moses did not think  
 much about this, Numbers 34:7 - 11, and often the  
 northeastern border much narrower, and that those pentateuc bischen  
 Stetten, wetche they would have pushed out to the P'uphrat,  
 only date from the time when Satomo acquired this area and made  
 it available to the Jewish trade, as we shall see later.

284

Note 4, to p. 14.

The three words chitU minnit ufannag Jech. 27, 17 translate the



needs no refutation, and that of pannag has not btos notei argument for itself, but this also against itself, that for Kassia the word kezia was used in Hebrew. Jonatan has for it chitte richusch wekotia, and since rictmsch gives no sense at all, woht is to be read with the Aruch dichusch, which according to the Arabic would mean vottkörnig; kotia, however, is preliminarily as rähsethaft as pannag setbst, for the statement of Gesenius that xoXfa was a kind of sweet pastry is not certain. The explanation of Josippon, recorded in Rashi on Berachot 43, a, that <sup>^</sup>?rtw<sup>^</sup> is batsamöt, appears even more arbitrary; moreover, batsam is mentioned in this verse of Jechesket anyway. Let us therefore search independently for the meaning of both. The word minnit does not occur further ats Rieht. 11, 33, but there as the name of an Ammonite town; and in view of the fact that Ammonitis must have been rich in wheat, since according to 2 Chron. 27, 5 King Jotham received an annual tribute of 10,000 grains of wheat and also barley from there for several years, someone might have wanted to have chitte minnit for Ammonite wheat, the Jewish intermediaries had delivered to the Tyrians. This view would not appear to be true, either in and of itself or for the following reason. In the aforementioned delivery of Satomo to the Tyrian king, according to 1 Kings 5:25, there were his 20,000 Kör wheat "maccotet for his house" , and 2 Chron. 2, 9 stands for 20,000 Kör chittim maccöt. I find the very word maccotet very objectionable, for the assumption that it means food would have the highly unusual contraction from maachotet against it, as well as the fact that the word here also means m would be completely superfluous; however, the chronistic <sup>^</sup> epithet maccöt is completely inappropriate. In atten three sentences, in the last two as in the-ÄUi Jechesket, we find a word added to the wheat, da<sup>^</sup> is difficult to decipher: should this not initially justify the conclusion that the same epithet belongs in all three sentences, whatever it may have been? But I also suspect that the chronicler attein has the correct letters of the word in question, only that it was misunderstood by the later puncto toreu and must rather be read muccöt,

285

in the sense of unfertilized wheat as opposed to that of children, whichever one was less appreciated; and after becoming unfamiliar with this expression, the other two corrupt readings may have arisen from attempts at heit, which were freely unnecessary. - But what was pannag? Fürst compares this word with tafnuk (delicious): but not btos in itself is this quite uncertain, but the context also calls for a word of quite specific meaning. Could it now be not rather be the Semitic word from which cpofvt? (Dattet) is also the origin of the other Greek term dersetben, 5a%TuXo?

The fact that Phoenicia itself had dates does not contradict this, because the Tyrians could not obtain dates from Palestine for their own use or for their trade. Moreover, Jonatan's kotia could be an abbreviation of nicotia, one of Ptinius 13, 9 and moremats mentioned in the Tatmud, wetche the Romans to Athenaeus 14 from Syria; in the same sentence it is freely stated that Augustus gave it this name because Nicotaus Damascenus, a friend of his, had often sent it to him, and then Jonatan might not even have known the word: attain the later statement

of Athenaeus is not exactly probable, and besides, one would now have thought the Jonatan version to be centuries younger. Buxtorf s. v. kotja quotes from the Midrash Ester 1, 8 chamra dekotja, which I did not find there, and considers it to be wine >in einem Kruge" (in a jug), a term that would be both factually and linguistically extremely odd, whereas "Dattetwein" would fit very well.

Note 5, to p. 26.

According to 2 Chron. 8, 3. 4, Satomo Chamat Zoba would have been under- and built magazine cities in this area of Chamat. In the middle of these two apparently related statements it says that he built Tadmor, and this interposition only seems understandable to me if Tadmor also belonged to the small state of Chamat. I can find fairly good confirmation of this

in 1 Kings 9:8, where it is said that he also built Tamar "in the desert in the land", which only makes sense if we assume that the name of the country has been filled in; but then we cannot doubt that it should have been "in the land of Chamat", and that the chronicler thus also includes Tadmor among the

Magai^iii^titdtGa had counted. The city of Ctiamat, spilter called Epiphaucia, must have been very important even earlier because of the expression >the great Ctiamat' Arnos 6, 2. But a real conquest of the city and its territory by Satomo can hardly have taken place, as far as its king was a friend of David (2 Sara. 8, 9. 10), but also as far as the taking away of a territory, in which such an important city and the no less important Tadmor meet, presupposes vigorous fighting, of which the Bibet could not have remained completely silent, and who at Satomo's peaceful of a certain nature should be alienating anyway. Rather, it seems that he had gained a certain supremacy without arms, without the size and power of his empire, but this small state, just as the message in 1 Kings 5:4 that he ruled over all kings on this side of the Euphrates from Thapsakns to Gaza cannot be understood otherwise, since otherwise we would have to attribute a whole series of wars to him, of which the Bible is completely silent. The magazine cities of Satomo are also mentioned in 1 Kings 9:19.

speech, but without specifying the location, according to which ea is to be used for patästical and for ordinary magazines; but those in the distant

and that the chronicle's mention of the storehouse cities in Chamat is not unjustifiably based on 1 Kings 9:19 is evident from the fact that the chronicler also mentions the latter phrase in v. 6. It has now been suggested that Satomo built Tadmor as a defensive wall against the invasion of his kingdom by the Syrians or Arabs. But this is contradicted by the following: 1) the fact that the everyfatts were only a power that was subjugated there. had not been able to protect the oasis itself against pressing attacks, let alone keep the enemy from advancing on the right or left towards Palestine; 2) that according to the above, we would not be entitled to remove Tadmor from the cities in the land of Chamat and yet think of a different motive for its construction than for the construction of those other cities. It is even more likely that atte these buildings served the purpose of securing the newly acquired supremacy over this area: attein how inappropriate would have been the chro- nistic term "magazine cities" for this! and ordinary magazines, such as his Palestinian ones, could not have been attempted by Satomo in the distant area of Chamat, but their purpose must have been a different one.

The new presentation will show that they are intended to serve a commercial as well as a fiscal purpose.

Note 6, za p. 29.

Satomo'a dispatch from Sctiiffen to Ofir was a sub-entity, the kichtigstettnng of which depends on so many discussions, Jasa I almost take up the space of a monograph for them and they must be presented in separate sections.

I.

Were the sea voyages mentioned in 1 Kings 10, 22 and 2 Chron. 9, 21 really directed to Ofir? in these texts it says and according to the first version "Tarshish ships", according to the chronicle "ships going to Tarshish" were used for this purpose. Although it was claimed that Tarshish ships, as in the modern term East Indiamen, meant large seagoing vessels that did not sail straight to Tarshish, the chronicler misunderstood this expression and rendered it as "ships going to Tarshish". Attein since both of these are very rare, the assumption that Some have suggested that a completely different lake undertaking of the Satomo is meant here, but this is also a consideration. One made for it

is mentioned, whereas in the Ofir journey of 1 Kings 9, 26 - 28 btos of satomonic, is freely unattainable, for ib. 10, 11 shows that Tyrian ships were nevertheless sailing here. But in the voyages mentioned in v. 22, Sitber must also have returned home.

and this is a bit tricky for Otir drivers, as the countries under consideration for the interpretation of Ofir are not rich in were at this meeting, while the Tyrians were just about to sail to Tarshish Sitber. However, I prefer the other view, because 1) 1 Kings 22:49 under Jehoshaphat speaks of "Tarshish ships that sailed to Ofir! the term "Tarshish ships" is used in a more general sense no one would seriously assume that they would have traveled too far around Africa via Ofir to Tarshish or via Tetzteres to Ofir; 2) the other products they brought with them do not point to Tarshish. Namely, Spain had Gotd (vergt.

2(0), but the Phoenicians certainly only received wcnii^ davou from there, otherwise its Jech. 27, 12 would have been included in the things they offered from Tarshish, Sodaun has not yet been raised above all doubt, but in it with the LXX to 2 Chrou. 9, 21 as well as with Jonata,n and aat.

7, 2 It feels very good to be able to vomit ivory, and etephants never had S])ania. I am even more inclined to consider .wÄeB- ' hnbim to be corrompirt from scMii and hotmim, because 1) the very often in the Bibet and only immediately before in v. 18 mentioned Etfenbein is always btos expressed by sctdn, nevermats further by schenhabbim, 2) neither a related Diatect nor any other language, which can come into consideration here, has this word, 3) Jech. 27, 15 eichfatta schhi and hobnim, stand next to each other; I had already written down this conjecture, ats I also found it set down by Böttcher in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen raorgentändi sehen GeseBschaft 11, 539. But Ebenhotz did not write about Spain either. Therefore no

Monkeys, hios to Gibrattar, and only in much later times, some have been relocated to Africa. Finally, Jonatan has in it

right that tukijim were peacocks, since this bird in Matabarisehcu is called gteichfatts togei; and Spain did not originally have peacocks either, they only came to Europe from the Orient after Alexander the Great. The same result would also be obtained if we, with Josephus a. a. 0. under tukijim Aethiopen, aethiopic sctaves

at first it would have been a bit strange to list them only after the monkeys, then Josejihus seems to have relied on this interpretation because 2 Chron. 12, 3 Sukijim

(with Samech) are mentioned alongside the Aethiopes. In any case, these products forbid us to think of Spain in 1 Kings 10, 22; and either the Sitber mentioned there is from the eeferent iri'thüm-tich was added to the gods, or the Otirschifte really also brought some Sitber with them, because according to Strabo 16, Arabia also had sotches.

But where did Ofir come from? We will first examine the views that have arisen about this. As far as the LXX puts *ionpipä* and *Soucptp* for it, as well as following them Josephus *ant.* 8, 1, 4 calls it *Smiyfpa*, some have found in it a *handet* phrase mentioned by *Abutfeda Snfära* *am* Indian seas, at *Ptotemäns* 7, 1, 6 *So'jncJpcc*, to be inherited, since the products brought from Ofir are all indigenous to India.

W be, ui

and *sction* Josephus *a. a. 0.* places it after India; according to Coptic *Gtossographers* *Sophir* even *iter* *atthe* Egyptian name of India could have been. At most, however, it could be inferred from this that the LXX *Otir* *hiefür* *hietten*, *nickt* *dass* *es* *dieses* *wirklich* *war*, *dciiii* *die* *Bibet* *hat* *ja* *konstant* *die* *Lesart* *Ofir*, *und* *1* *Mos.* *10,* *29,* *wo* *ein* *Ofir* *in* *Arabien* *vorkommen*, *haben* *auch* *die* *LXX* *Oöcpsip.* - From the same Basically *unthuntich* is the link with *Sofata* on the east coast of Africa, opposite the *inset* *Madagascar*, or with an *inset* *Sapirene* in the Arabian Sea mentioned by *Ptinus* *C,* *33,* - According to the *Sanchuniathon* , which has come to light in recent times, in *wetchem* *7,* *1* - *12* the journey to Ofir is described in detail, it is described according to of a *Hatbinset* of the East Indies: *attein* this book is known without doubt to have been *spurious* and *subterfuged.* - In a communication of *Eupotemus*, which is preserved in *Eusebius'* *praep. evang.* *9,* *30,* it is said that *David* built ships in *Achana*, a city of Arabia, and sent them to the island of *Urphe* in the Red Sea. Perhaps *Achaba* (*Akaha*) is to be read there for *Achana* and *Upbre* for *Urphe*: but even then, we must not forget *One* who is *Satomo* with

*David*, when he speaks to us of an *inset* that is mentioned by no one else in the *Atterthum* ; his deviation from the LXX in this respect speaks rather to the fact that Ofir's location was no longer known. - *Juchasin* *93,* *b* of the Amsterdam edition mentions an Ofir two days' journey from *Gamus* (?) and *ats* belonging to the *Gaonat* of *Sura*: but in none of the *fatte*

the *Satomonie* Ofir could have been so close, and ships were not needed to reach it. - It can hardly be better said that *Seezen* referred to a city *Etophir* in the province of *Oman* on the east coast of Arabia; for this is written in *Edrisi* with *Ajin* instead of *Atef*, and more importantly, that region was never claimed by the *Atts* to be a god's land. - *Knobet's* reference to a region of *Mapharitis* in southwestern Arabia needs no refutation. It should also be noted that *Ptinus* *36,* *66*

mentions a *nitrum* *Ophirium*: but I do not know how to use this for the situation of Ofir.

One of my own assumptions, which I will fill again later, *witt* I do, however, make them much more accessible to some readers.

that it was said for Ofir to wide Ufas, apparently in the meaning of "God's will", as according to Ant. 8, 6, 4 it was also said for Ofir to wide "God's will" in Josephus' time; and it

290

it was certainly not assumed with urectit that Ufas or Ofas had possibly been derived from the name Ofir: the first place had been completely retained, but in the sense of IJit (coast or land), and the second wittily exchanged with jots (God). This, however, aroused in me the thought as to whether perhaps in Ofir even the first sitbe meant >land<, and this atso had gone btos FiriBse^~a. I was even presented with some evidence to support this.

tiesse, namely t) the note 2 Chron. 3, 6, that Satomo used parwa,jim for the temp^Mi Gotd ; 2) however, there are many indications (K - .) that the Ofir riders visited Ethiopia: could not Ofir have been the landscape of Darfur, located west of Ethiopia, since this name also contains dar btos, as in so many names this means competition and landscape? 3) Hesse si- d

and the Pyrrhic Aethiopes Ptot. 4, 6, 16. Ttri^

As I have already said, I would like to re-found this assumption, because t) eä^Sm sotche compound with IJ{ does not occur anywhere else in Arabic and Hebrew, and even if the first bit of the word U ^fas-

she may have dared to raise an attack on Ofir, it is difficult to

accept for the original name Ofir;

2) even if Oür did not tag in Ethiopia, it is possible and even probable that the Ofir drivers made a side trip there -^kku, ats they drove past him ; 3) Darfur is not a Uutdtand at all. - Ai^ uch  
the district of the Upper Egyptian god mines, between the Nit and i^EZdem  
According to Lepsius, the Red Sea was called the Gotland, but Ofir is definitely not the place to think of.

III.

When determining Ofir, I assume the following points xL^ss:

1) neither in India, nor in Ethiopia, nor on the whole of the rest of the east coast of Africa is there any trace of the name -  
before ; 2) the rest of Bibet knows no other Ofir than the 1 1  
10, 29 untwice transferred to Arabia gteichnamigen Sta"

3) It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that after the voyage there the queen of Sheba visited Satomo, who was in Arabia, that she received news of Satomo through these sailors, and that they must have spent some time in Arabia. Zifar would have Josephus ant. 8, 6, 5 her for a queen of Ethiopia, but note that 1 Mos. 10, 29 Ofir close behind ShebÄ ani-

he apparently confused the Arabic sc̄tiebā with the Ethiopian sc̄ba.

Now, however, the Anuabme of Ofir iu Arabia was introduced. that most of the products brought from Ofir were not to be found in this country: we must carefully consider this point. So >Arabia deeper now ^ar no god", But has this country, which is as large as it is accessible to anyone, already been so geognostically investigated that one would be justified in rejecting such certain statements of the ancients about its god wealth as the following ones? The Queen of Sheba brings Satomo 120 patents

God with; also Ps. 72, 15 the God of Sheba is remembered; of According to JecL. 27, 22, the Tyrians received their god from the dogs of Saba and Raeraa, also an Arab tribe; Ptinius mentions 6, 32 the auri metatta of the Hammaeans, as well as later those of the Sahaeans, and could be all the better informed about this because he speaks there twice of Roman merchants visiting southern Arabia. Furthermore, according to Arteraidorus, whose information Diodorus 3, 11 considers to be almost universally correct, Strabo 16 tells us that a river with godsand flows through the land of the Debi north of the Arab Sabaeans, and a little more southerly is also dug Gotd , gteich in solid pieces from a walnut kernel to a wading nut large , wetche the inhabitants pierced and alternated them with visible stones on strings of thread to make jewelry, that is, they sold them from Gotd the triple weight for copper, the double for Sitber, (but according to Diodorus 3, 45 this means iron instead of Sitber, and Strabo himself says a. a. 0. that Sitber was also native to them, but not copper and iron). Diodorus, too, who according to 3, 38 derives his information about these regions from imperial charters in Atexandria, as eyewitnesses have already told us, 3, 45 of that foot with God's sand in the land of the Deben and sooh̄t ib. as 2, 60 of the somewhat more southerly occurring vieten Gotde in solid pieces, vergt. still ib. 3, 47 and Dion. Perieg. 961.

Finally, please allow me the following discussion. Among the rivers of paradise, the Pishon is mentioned first, which encircles the entire land of Chawita, where the Godd is. First of all, I refer to the Attarabian tribe of Abit (see the Vötkertafet of Knebet p. 179) and assume that if Diodorus 3, 45 places the greatest wealth of the gods in Arabia in the land of the Atitäors, who are nowhere to be found. be mentioned further, b ier for wob! Abit aer is to be read. But where

places the Bibet Chawita? Gen. 10, 29 in the sttdtictie Hätfte of Arabia, whereas ib. 25, 18 and 1 Sam. 15, 7 somewhat further northwest. Rar has never included Chawita among the towns on the Persian Gulf. With Chawita, however, one has woht with Becht the Chautotaeans, whom Strabo 16 lists alongside the Nabataeans, as well as Chautan, whose name Edrisi gives to a landscape between Mecca and Sana; then Niehuhr has found a landscape Chautan somewhat southeast of Sana, and according to Iztachri Chautan cuts through the whole of Yemen in width. This in itself already appealing comparison is further supported by the fact that according to Gen. 10, 29 Chawita descended from Joktan, and it is certain that Arabian writers consider the tribe of Chautan to be descendants of Kakhtan, the Biblical Joktan. According to this, the tribe of Chawita must once have been extremely widespread in Arabia, and perhaps we can also place the Chawita of Gen. 10, 7 in the south of Arabia. But then it should not be assumed that in the paradise myth under Chawita all of Arabia, up to the width of Medina.

was to be understood? And that it was orbited by the Pischon, could in have been accepted in the same way. The Attenians believed that India and Ethiopia were connected by land, and even Alexander According to Strabo 15, M. had hoped to be able to sail to Egypt on the Indus; Humboldt also states in Cosm. Humboldt in Cosmus 2, 327 states that even after gaining knowledge of the Indian Ocean, it was considered to be an inland sea. In fact, the fact that Bab - ei - Maudeb Africa almost a thousand kilometers away The fact that the Indus reaches eastwards along the Arabian coast is very likely to lead those who had not traveled beyond it to believe that Africa extended as far as India. I therefore had the Pischon for the Indus, and ascribe to the concipient of the paradise myth the idea that the Indus encircled southern Arabia (Chawita), and that the whole of the Arabian Gulf, which is actually somewhat river-like, is the Indus, which has grown cotossately. Accordingly, this myth also confirms the divine wealth of Arabia; but anyone who does not want to accept further proof cannot deny the power of the others, and that the mention of the seat brought back from Ofir is not a proof of the divine wealth of Arabia. did not forbid Ofir to be found in Arabia is clear from what is said on p. 288. For many later times, of course, all this evidence would have been unnecessary, for according to Diodorus 3, 47 and Strabo 1, the handet also led many gods and sitters to Arabia; at the time of Satomo, however, this could not have been the case.

to such a large extent that Aratiiieu Edet- Jech. 27, 22 and Ptinius 37, 15, etc.; even now it still mines agate, onyx, jasper and the most beautiful earueot.



Producte. Let us first look at the Atmughotz. This is understood to be Rosh Hashanah 23, a the Korat, but I believe that it was only at a very late stage that the true meaning of this was understood.

of the bibtic atmvg no longer canute, this was referred to the coratte, but wrongly, far from it necessarily not such large pieces can be obtained as 1 Kings 10, 12 supposes. It is better to take it with Ritter for Sandethotz, of which one kind grows in India, on Ceyton and in various parts of Africa, another kind btos in India; and considering that this Hotz is also called modui in Sanskrit, we have here woid to think of an Indian home of dessetben. (The fact that the chronicler asked for atgummim for ahnuggim does not seem to be due to a transposition of the book.

The fact that he, too, presumably no longer knew the breathing hotz, but not the rubber hotz, and therefore believed that in the latest news there must have been more atgummim. According to Her. 2, 96, the Egyptians cut bats two feet long from the rubber tree and used them to build ships; it is even possible that it was the gome, which according to

3 Mos. 2, 3 and Isa. 18, 2 was used for watercraft.

-This may also be connected with the fact that 2 Chron. 2, 7 the Atgnm-mim are transferred to Lebanon). The ivory came from India or Ethiopia; and therefore the Ebenhotz, as also was brought by the latter from Ofir, as has been attempted to prove on p. 288. Finally, it is said that the monkeys and peacocks betrayed

Indian origin; although Arabia still has monkeys, attein the biblical word köf comes from its name kapt in Sanskrit and in Matabar, while none of the multiple Arabic names for the monkey is similar to the sounds köf or kapi; the peacocks' homeland is Matabar and the rest of the Near East.

To assume that Ofir was not in Arabia, where the Bibetans brought it, but in India, where there is no trace of the name Ofir, is not only highly inaccurate, but also completely unfounded, since it may very well be that the Indian or Ethiopian products mentioned were brought to Arab markets. Note

Jt

294

but only that if the Ofivfatirer knew the Sandethotz mocha under the name ahnug, atso with an Arabic article, that it only became known to them through Arab intermediaries, as well as that Etfenbein, according to Jech. 27, 15, even at a significantly later time, it came to the Tyrians through Arab intermediaries; moreover, we will see that the Ofir voyagers had to pass close to the Ethiopian coast on their outward and return journeys,

and exchanged settene land products. V.

At the end of the day, we also have to worry about the length of time, appears to be attributed to the Ofir journeys in the Bibet, is well compatible with the assumption that Ofir in Arabia and atso basically not so far removed from Aitat day. We read in 1 Kings 10, 22, that after three years eiae Ftotte returned with the products mentioned. First of all, we do not need to go there that the outward journey, stay and return journey took three years, for it could be that after the first voyage, which was completed to the satisfaction of all, it was decided to repeat it at the end of the year, just as Cosmas reports that the king of Axum in Ethiopia spent one year around the other of God's sand had sent people to Sasu, only 50 days' journey away. However, even if we refrained from doing so, every returned fleet had to be repaired and provided with a new crew as well as provisions and barter goods before it could set sail again, which together amounted to It took six months, so that only 2'/" years actually come into consideration. However, it cannot be determined from Gen. 10, 29 in which part of Arabia Ofir was located. There seems to be strong evidence that Satomo's people came there from the south coast and also spent some time in the southern part of Arabia. In fact, shipping was much more arduous and dangerous than a caravan journey, Satomo and the Tyrians, accustomed to both types of handet journeys, would therefore certainly have preferred to sail there if Ofir had been on the west coast. 2) As already mentioned, the Queen of Sheba's visit to Satomo can hardly be explained in any other way than by the assumption that one of his Ofir voyagers visited her residence and spread his reputation there. With ünrech

295

However, the land of the Sabacr is often assumed to be on the west-southwestern coast of Arabia, it must rather be placed significantly further east, because a) the southwestern coast is quite close to, but at a considerable distance to the east of, a significant mountain range, in which today's Sana lies, and Mariaha, presumably the Sabaeen capital only in later times, must have been located significantly northeast of Sana; b) Ptotemaeus distinguishes in 6, 7 expressly the coastal states of divided Arabia from its inland statesD, and in § 23 the Sabaer to the southern inland foothills; c) the Abatite harbor on the eastward curving Ethiopian coast had ghis eastern longitude with Babetmandeb, and Ptotemaeus (vergt. 4 7 10 with 6 7 42) placed it two degrees further west ats 2äß7j ßaafXewv, by which ti undoubtedly meant the late Sabaeen capital;

12 30 a j>agus Sibieorw" gtnannt. I therefore assume that the Sahaeans had their seats in the aforementioned mountains, each but they did not extend "southwards" as far as the Erie-Thraean Sea, as they were in fact an inland votk. They may have acquired a harbor on the Er>thracian Sea for their outstretched handet, namely with Ethiopia, and I assume that it was tis ApoLpiai i^iTt^ptov, which Ptotemaeus 6, 7, 9 places in the land of the Itoments tenn Ptinius distinguishes 6, 33 from the Scn tu Sabaeis the babaeos Arabum propter (hura ctarissimos, and anssertem Ptot b 7 8 - 10 on this southern coast of Arabia as far as the Atramites has no other harbor than the one mentioned above.

"Arab" Sabaer belonged to Lm uuu but iu the land of the Sahaeans to getangen is the for this purpose regarded Abbotung of the Oftrfahrer

not from the West, as several of them suspected that they were not familiar with It is more probable that they took the following route five years ago, assuming that Ofir was on the ''ttd coast of Arabia, and the Tyrians may have already known this location or only now learned of it during repeated landings, the fleet urawhiifte the southwest coast, sought out that Arahaz and took station there, the mercantite part of their crew went ashore. Either the coast itself was the ear they were looking for or they had to sail inland from it, and from there they made a detour to the capital of the equally famous Sabaeian land. It should also be noted that the unclear knowledge of the Joktanid tribes

ä

Gen. 10, 26-30 is most easily traced back to the Ofirfßhrteii; and since it includes in Ctiazarmawet (Hudramaut) a setion so significantly eastern part of the south coast, as well as in Jobab yermuthlich the still more eastern Jobarites of Ptot. 6, 7, 24, the question remains whether this knowledge was already available on the west coast, and atso this fact also speaks somewhat in favor of Ofir and Sabaea having considerably more eastern days.

Let us now estimate how much time the Ofir drivers need to get to their journeys were needed. It is true that in Ptinius' time the known Moero was already being crossed very quickly; he tells us in 19, 1 that the journey from the Sicite strait to Atexaudria took seven days, from Puteoti nine, and from Gades to Ostia nine. seven days. But these must only be set exits.

were taken, because according to Strabo in Book 3, around 100 V, Chr., Posidonius, because of the trade winds from the southeast, hardly in three months from Spain to Itatia, and according to B, batra 3, 2, in the time of the Mishnah, the journey from Judea to Spain was made from the ge-

for the return journey. This slowness is made even slower by the fact that they still dared to set sail on the high seas.

liked to follow the bends of the coasts, and that according to Phito II. 548 and Apostetgesch. 27, 12, even in these late times the sea of Uos was still navigated in the summer months, but in the fall a safe port for the winter. Accordingly, according to Hieronyraus ep. 9ö, it took a ship six months to sail the entire length of the Gulf of Arabia, even in part of its length; and most probably he meant only the distance to the strait of Babetmandcb, for the sea beyond it was reckoned to be

no longer to the Arabian Gulf, but called it the Erythraean Sea, vergt. Ptot. 4, 7, 9. 6, 7, 1. 8. This statement by Eieronymus is also very similar to that of Ptinius 6, 26,

that mau from Berenice on the eastern border of Aegypteu would get to Ocetis in thirty days, if one waited for the favorable 'Winii until the middle of summer; the mentioned Ocetis day according to Ptot. 6, 7, 7. 8 still on this side of the narrows. The wind conditions are, however, of the utmost importance for voyages in this gulf, even if they are stated somewhat differently in more recent times: according to some, north winds prevail as far down as Babetmandeh during the summer months and south winds in the winter months, according to Maury but from Suez to Jeddah only from December to April, while

297

of the gauzeii remaining Jatires almost only northern ones. Aneh I found from Ebers (Durch Gosen zum Sinai p. 419) to Job. Moschus that once fishermen from Pharan on the Heroopotit. The fishermen of Pharan on the Gulf of the Heroicotite were caught by adverse winds and weather for ninety days on their short voyage home from the Egyptian coast! But took In Jerome's time, the crossing of this route took six months, even "in the most delightful of times", it naturally took even longer; and at the time of Satomo, when even the accompanying Tyrians were not yet as well versed in navigation as they would be later, and were perhaps not yet familiar with this sea and its inhabitants.

were known, it may therefore have taken nine months to do so.

be. But now we were almost certain that the time of the Ofir sailors was a long way off: they had to sail through the perilous strait into the Erythraian Sea, where the monsoons blow on one side from the southwest from spring to autumn, and on the other side from the southwest.

of the year from the northeast, and the long coastline of Arabia almost tis to pass through to the hand. This took at least another three months, and it took about a year to get to Otir, as well as almost the same amount of time for the hike, so that for the stay in Ofir, for the land journey from there to the residence of the Sabaeans, and for the return journey to the sea, only the massive time of barely six months in total remained, although Sabaea was not included on every subsequent voyage, but presumably not even the very nearby coast of

If the products brought back by Satomo also appear to be Ethiopian; and even if the people of Satomo were not inclined to do so themselves, the tyrants on these voyages would have "disdained" to pay a visit to this land of the most precious products as they passed by. Incidentally, the extraordinary slowness of the voyages at that time shows that Ofir was not to be sought in India for this reason alone; the script of the first sea assures us that it was only the skipper Hippatus who found his way there across the high seas with the help of the monsoon.

and said that up to his time, vessels had only sailed to India along the shores of Arabia, Babytonia, etc.: in this case, however, in Satomo's time, the journey to an Indian outpost, including the stay there and the return journey, could certainly not have been completed in three years.

J

I

Having said and discussed the above, I see no argument whatsoever against hiring Oßr wrrküch there, where it is placed in the Biblical Yötkertafet, in southern Arabia. It is true, however, that no other trace of this name can be found there. neither among the Greeks and Romans, nor among the later or more recent ones: but no trace of it has been found in any other country that could seriously be considered for this purpose, and the Arab tribe of Ofir may well have perished or merged with another before the Greeks and Romans obtained more precise knowledge of Arabia, as the Arahi

The Arabians who inhabited Arabia have always distinguished between the extinct and the extant tribes. Gesenins suspected that Ofir was not a single tribe at all, but rather a ttter name for the whole of Arabia, derived from the Arabic wafara (to have overpowered). However, there are several arguments against this: 1) that the term then Aufar would have had to be thawed; 2) that the term >the gtQck-ticbe Arabia' was completely foreign to the Arabs, mistakenly Aua^ täuder have found this sense in the term Yemen, while it rather means "the land on the rightC, the Sttdtand; 3) would have been it would be a good idea for the Vötkertafet to have a co-ectiv designation in the middle of effective one- zen tribes, which would be twenty-raat and include already listed tribes. I would like to know whether y\_p'jaio-j ößput^ov and aurum obryzam come from obrussa, the etymology of which is still ambiguous, or whether they originally meant Ofirgotd.

What else comes into consideration for the correct conception of the journeys has to be included in the textual presentation, but Ebers ("Durch Gosen zum Sinai" p. 98) claims that the Phoenicians had already sailed the western (Beroopotitan) bosom of the Red Sea in and before Moses' time, and that my view of the Ofirfabrtcu can easily be adapted to this, but I cannot agree with him on this until he has better substantiated this claim. He bases it on the fact that in Ex 14:9 the word Baat Zefön refers to the Phoenicians, 'ffm to the north wind, which the Phoenicians would have called zapMn, and that under Baat Zef&n the Ataka Mountains near Suez might have become

is to be understood. But I must object to this, a) that this is where Hehrfter and Araber come from, from which both words could just as well have originated; b) that Zefön is more likely to contain Typhon; c) that just the Hebrews called the north wind zaßn (H L. 4, 16), it is not proven by the Phoenicians; d) that ea seems very strange according to the context there, in Baat Zef&ti. not a place, but - a mountain range; e) that anyway at that time not yet Phoenician voyages on the red Sea resnttiren.

Note 7, e.g. g. 36.

That in 1 Kings 10, 16 the ansehe hatarim are to be distinguished from the röcktm is generally admitted. According to this, the farim must not be understood as caravans, for if Satomo himself taxed the wandering merchants, he would have been hard pressed to receive a reward from rich caravan traders. to tassen ; also note that the term mis,char is only found among the röchtm, but not among the tarim, the caravans will have had to pay a tax, even if they did no business at all, but imported or transported their goods btos; finally, it seems that, like the Arabic sfTra and the Chatdaean shajara, the Hebrew tur was the actual term for caravan travel. The term iterck hnatarim also belongs to Metteicht i Mos. 21, 1 to translate it here > "the way of the Oter" is of course not appropriate, and that an Oerttichkeit was called "the Oerter" would of course be possible, but certainly not true; the Targumim have The word refers to the kundathaftir and has thus either been used or identified with it; but we would gain an extremely appropriate sense if it could be understood to mean "the caravan route". - It should also be mentioned here that the indication 1 Kün. 10, 14, that 666 Kichar Gotde'' were added to the Satomo annually (or once in a single year), is suspicious to me for several reasons; it seems that someone has taken the 120 Kickar Gotdes from Chirara (9, 14), the 420 from Ofii and the 120 from the Sabaeen king^in to 660 and from this that legendary statement to have emerged.

Kote 8, to p. 44.

Several verses in Proverbs point to some practice in the blacksmith's art for the period of the King: 25, 4 "Separate the shafts from the seat, and the blacksmith receives a tool"; 26, 23 "Thon

m^

I

300

gesdjiiT with an overdjiiiq of Schtackensitbür-; 27, 21 nterSchmetztieget for Sitber and the oven for God". Pataestina also had some mountains, for Job 28, 1. 2 would also refer to foreign trade, and the Aristca's statement that ore and iron used to be mined in the mountains towards Arabia would not have been true.

But if we think that the Persians were the ones who introduced the drive, we read in Deut. 8, 9 of Palestine: "whose stones are iron, and from its mountains you will hew ore"; and we

There is no need to doubt this, as the Egyptian Gotdberg- werko east of Coptic in inscriptions from the 14th century.

V. BC and were therefore still older; however, where mining was practiced and even iron was worked, people would not have known how to work Edetmefatte. The fact that Satomo appointed a chiram to the Tyrns to make metalwork for the temple,

1 Kings 7, 14 - 46 is expressly restricted to works in ore, in which he may have enjoyed a special reputation. According to this, we may very well assume that the Gothic temple monuments and later the 500 Gothic scrolls, his many Gothic hanseatic devices and the Gothic Bestet of his throne were made entirely or in part by international art experts, especially since that Chiram atte will not have completed the works attributed to him there without the help of art experts. (I would at least like to mention here, even if I do not attach any particular importance to it, that according to Ebers ("Through Goshen to Sinai" p. 527) the skill of the Syrians in the art of godsmithing was already astonishingly valuable much earlier). Finally, Nech. 3, 32 is even a Jerusatemer Gitde

of the godsmiths, and it is certainly not likely that they only turned to this profession during or after the exit, and immediately in such a quantity that a single, very massive city could have had a whole city of its own.

Note 9, at 8. 55-58.

Isa. 4H, 12 we read: "These will return from the north and West, those from the land of the Sines", which combination favors the assumption that the "North and West" are also very distant sojourn to iteukeu, as Sech. 8, 7 says, 'I hetke my votke from the land of the East and from the Land of the sunset". Ib. 66, 19. 20 The Exodus prophet also announces the return of the Gtanben brothers from Tarshish, Put, Lud, Tubat and Jawan. That Tarshish does not mean Tarsus in Citicien,

seur I

m

rden '

301

but the Spanish Tartessus is to be understood, I assume 1) from the fact that there is also talk 60, U \on TarschiSLhschiffen, wekhe the returnees would return with Sitber and dotd Der Aus- The term "Tarschiscti-ächiffeC wai very sehiauüitich, and as p 267 has been shown, it often referred to a particular type of ship, such as large or more heavily hewn ones, as a voyage from PLöiii- cia to Spain required while one cannot foresee it, why a special type of \ou ship would have been necessary for the coastal voyage to Tarsos, which was not at all &o far away, and the phrase "with silver and god" confirms this, since in ancient times the silver was mainly from Spain, and this country also had a lot of god. 2) vergt. p. 250 about the fact that Tarsoa was not of such great commercial importance as was often assumed, and in In this case it becomes even less likely that Tarsus should be thought of in connection with Tarsus and Tarshish. 3) It would have been appropriate for the prophet to first name a port in Stone Asia, then two countries that we will have to assume are in the neighborhood of Egypt, and then again two Stone Asian countries in Tubat and Jawan. Earlier, in my History 3, 427, I myself wanted to understand Tarsos as such, but I also believed that the neighboring Put and Lud kt were Asian countries, in tud Lydia, and in Put Parophytia, which the verse calls ktein Asiatic landscapes. Attein I tiess later fatten this view, concerning Tarscbic for the reasons given, and betretfs tud for the following. Wiederhotenttich is mentioned in the scripture Lud in "connection with Egypt, and where this occurs must be without



Jeremiah 46, 9 this sub-Egyptian Lud was familiar with the bow, and just the same is said of him in our passage Isa. 66, 19: this suggests very strongly to think here of a Lud near Egypt. But precisely because of this it is now also more probable to me that for Put, which does not occur further at all, Tut is to be read, since this Jer. 48, 9. Jeeb. 27, 10 and 30, 5 next to Lud, "and gleichfalls in the Bibet almost always in connection with Egypt.

" is mentioned. But I cannot agree with Josephus that a "r ant. 1, 6, 2 Put to Mauritania: the biblical mentions of it contradicted the idea that it should be at such an extraordinarily great distance from Egypt, and even the more closely mentioned Futea of Ptot. 4, 3, 39 still seems too distant for this. On the other hand, Brugsch has recently claimed that Put is identical with Punt, which in Egyptian

302

Texts with the epithet ties "jiotttidien Landes- vortiomme nnd eben wegen dieses Beinamens in dem giacklichen Arabien zu suchen. With, I bezweifelte iiiii freitich überhaupt the high matter of the designation "das göttliche Arabien" (vergt, p. 298), also the "göttliche" and the "-göttliche" land are quite different things, and in view of the fact that a hymn to the king of the gods Amon, the "ruler of Punt", was found on a papyrus, I would rather assume that this epithet refers to a religious myth. But according to Eber's "Through Goshen to the Sinai

S. 30, there is no question that Western Arabia was understood to be under Punt. All the more reason for me to share Lad's views. von Knobelt (die Völkertafel der Genesis p. 198 u. w.) theilweise an. This Volk is mentioned in Gen. 10, 13 by Mizrajim, but ib. V. 22 by S'm, and thus presumably sat where the two touched each other: it would be very fitting that the Arab legend Amatek for a son of the land or lawad. Only here we may

not think of the Amatekites in Petraic Arabia: Isaiah 66:19 would not have spoken of those living so close by, but of "inhabitants of distant coasts". But the Arabian legend also speaks of the Amatek's residences at various points on the Arabian west coast, in the Hejaz there was even their headquarters, and this area would fit in well with the Biblical mentions of Lud. Both the evidence that Put and that Lud were part of the western

Arabia, also support each other, and have perhaps a further support from Ezek. 30, 5, if the wectiot-kaereb behind them there may be translated: and all Arabia, My supposition p. 55 and 58, Put was in the west of The idea of moving it to Egypt was based on the Putea of Ptotemaeus, but I have since abandoned it. - Endlich Tubat is the Volk of the Tibarenes in Pontus, and Javan probably Jonien.

For the sake of similarity, Obadiah v. 20 should also be discussed here, In my history 1, 366 I tried to prove that the first

of this large group of the children of Israet, who are traders as far as Sarepta". Then there and 3, 435 attpersisthe inscriptions were cited, in which after Cappadocia a landscape Qparad or Sparda and then Jana (Jonah) are mentioned; it does not seem doubtful to me that this (Qparad Obadiah's more distant words the emigration of Jerusatem to Sepharad", especially since it is easy to reconcile with this that, according to Jerome, the

Jews of his time understood Sepharad to mean the area around the Bosphorus. However, the prophet could not have wanted to limit the hope of return to the exiles in Sepharad, but rather he meant that even those in Sepharad who had traveled furthest north would return home; the LXX already interpreted his words as follows understood. It is, however, a little suspicious that in the few decades of the Babylonian exit, considerable numbers of these exiles "would have traveled as far as Tubat, Sepharad and Jonah, and that a tiior of this would have reached Obadiah and Deu- terojaiah even before the end of this exit. But the latter had both prophets for time younger, or even to assume with Hitzig wittkürtich thatC Obadiah batd wrote in Egypt after 312, I have to assume for and I believe that I have sufficiently proved in my History 1, 292 - 294 that both of them are more likely to have been born towards the end of of the exit. However, the distance from the northern Babytonia to the new seats mentioned, and Cyrus' victorious wars in Cteinasia must have made it more accessible, especially for the Jews in Babytonia, who were undoubtedly enjoying his favor. However, it is easier to assume that descendants of the Assyrian exiles had moved to these places; and news of this could have reached the Jews just as easily as the of 2 Kings 17:6 about the headquarters of the Assyrian exiles. The fact that Obadiah referred to those in Sepharad as Jerusatemites is not a strong argument against this, because this designation cannot be taken literally anyway, but at least in the sense of Judeans, and presumably he did not need it in this restriction, but rather as a paratetic alternation with the Jerusatemites. the > children of Israet" in the first hemistich, he could hardly have known more about such distant people than that there were also fellow believers in Sepharad. However, if his expression is to be interpreted correctly, then of course nothing can be said about those in Tubat. For those in Jawan, see the description on p. 57.

Also concerning Hos. 11, 11. Isa. 11, 11. Sech. 10, 10 mentioned Jews in Egypt requires some discussion. Namely, according to these citations, Sochi must have been in the eighth century before

Some might therefore be tempted to assume that they had come there as prisoners of war and had either perished inactive or were unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of handicrafts; also in the

ei'stere fattea these propheteii could have taken them with them, in the opinion namüch that they were still present. Attein t) we are told There are no reports of Jews taken captive to Egypt from this early period; 2) the separate mention in Isaiah 11:11 of Jews in Mizraim and in Patria (Lower and Upper Egypt) is less applicable to prisoners of war than to sotcbe who freely threw their residences, just as, according to Jer. 44:1, this was permitted to those who had fled there before the wrath of Nebchad- nezzar. In general, however, there is too much fable about the sealing off of the eastern part of Egypt; on a bas-relief in Beni Hassan one finds the friendly reception of a According to Ebers ( - an Egyptian king's daughter t I. Akg. 2) Naukratis was founded by the Mitesians as early as 749 B.C., and somewhat later a temple was founded by the Aeginetans to Zeus, by the Mitesians to Apotto, by the Samiei n the Here and by The Greeks there may have built a Hettenion together, and he also gives ib. Acg. 19 admits that in Egypt import and export were in the hands of the Phoenicians very early on; and in his work

• Durch Goaen zum Sinai" p. 472, he proves that the canat to connect the middle of the Sheeu Sea with the Red Sea had already been begun by Sesostris, furthermore he says ib. 8. 234: "The Egyptian monuments prove in the most atterbest way that at the time of the Exodus there was a most lively traffic with Canaan, which mostly took place in the middle of the Red Sea.

must have been maintained by caravans," ended

ib. p. 71, he assumes that Aegyptus had frequent contact with Palestine in the first royal period. It is difficult for me to understand how the dogma of Egypt's isolation can remain unchallenged in Eber's atten.

held on to fragilely. 3) We have already seen earlier that some of the Palestinians' handets were inherited by Aeg>"pteu. Does this not justify the assumption that the Sochi also stayed there for the sake of the trade and we found that they did so even in very distant lands, and in this so near country they should not have attempted it? we might even suspect this if the Bibet were silent about such an early stay of Jews in Egypt, and since it reports it, we should btos refer it to Jewish prisoners of war, whose presence there cannot be proved by any means.

Note 10, to S. n.

The inner pat. handet with fruits cannot be proven from the fact that Dcmaj 4, 1. Moöd katan 2, B of the sale of perOt

because these were also understood to include grain. Rather

>of the fourth year", which grew within a day's journey of Jerusatem, to lead them there, according to Beza 5, a "to decorate the markets of Jerusatem with freight". Meanwhile, the purchase of individual types of fruit is explicitly mentioned, that of grapes and figs already in Nech, 13, 15, that of dates and figs ran atäp fine Tos. Dema, i c. ö, that of olives and grapes Maaser scheni 1, 4, that of olives also B. kamma 119, a, that of figs also B. batra 6, 2, that of nuts and mandetns Maaser scheui 1, 3, that of nuts, peaches, pomegranates and paradise apples Beza 29, h, desgt. the purchase of the small pomegranates of Bedan seems to emerge from Orta 3, 7. go. Further citations for this can be found in the text itself. Note II, zn

p. 104.

It is still disputed what is to be understood by the Chuttin 12, 1 and otherwise mentioned Herodian doves. According to bett. Jud. 5, 4, 4, Herod had doves for tame pigeons, and Rashi to Chuttin 139, b wanted to attribute their name to this, that Herod first encouraged their breeding, but this is unlikely. It is more likely that he obtained a particularly beautiful species of pigeon from abroad and kept it in his cages, from whose breeding it became naturalized. It is true that in the last sentence it was also said that these pigeons spoke one word, according to which they were to be understood as parrots: attein other tatmudic sentences about the herodian pigeons are not 'compatible with this ; and I therefore believe that later the true meaning of the expression was no longer known and that in this ignorance the pigeons were not used. niss applied it too widely to parrots.

Note 12, m p. 105.

In the antitype of the tribe of Sebutun, according to Jonathan, it says in Deut. 5. 33, 19 and Megitta G, a viet of the genus tris, and in an adventurous exaggeration Berachot 44, a relates that attein the fig-jewels of King Jaimeus gave weekly 600,000 shadows Tris would have consumed. In both places Rashi understands this to mean tuna fish, and accordingly states in Nedarim 51, b, iris terufa are fish cut into pieces (also large), weshatb Lewy-

20

306 ^^

söhn in his Zootogie des TatiuuUs p. 205 in Tris erblickt den Triton, | der zam Gesditertit der Ttiu titis die getiöre. Attein Ab. sara 36, b Rasctii, in contradiction with himself, declares Tris to be a species of a fish, whereupon Lewysotm p. 256 states that

namely the sardette species, which is called Thrissa in Aristotle's History of Animals 9, 25, 8 and by Aetiau 6, 32. It seems to me, however, that above all only this Tbrissa can be meant, for 1) Chuttin 25, a. 66, b, shows that the Tatmud knew the tuna fish by its proper name; 2) the triton was called triton and not tris, especially if another genus of fish was known as tris; 3) it is not exactly probable that the same word tris would have been understood to mean the cotossate tuna and a sardette-like large fish genus. 1) Nedarim 6, 4 does not give any other unconstrained aut' - t'assung than that tris were entirely stone fish; 5) according to Ab. sariM.

jer. 2, 10 R. Jochanan understood by Cm terufa the "kteinen Fisct" cküak, and according to Nedarim jer. 6, 3 mau said fttr Tris in Babytoniea zachana, which was understood to mean completely stone fish. According to Ab. sara 39, a, it seems to me that zachana was the term for small stone fish, and indeed for the as yet undeveloped fish.

(Succa 18, a), ats also for prepared (Ter umot 10, 1); that tris btos, on the other hand, meant thrissa in its unaltered form, and trü feruf'a a fish porridge made from thrisses. - Another related point is discussed here.

Nedarim 6, 4 and elsewhere there is often talk of the enjoyment of de\$ zir of fish. Freytag in his Arabicu Lesicon now says that i-ir means the "food" eachana as well as the salted fish from which it was prepared; and it is true that, according to Rosen- mütter, a species of catfish that was eaten fresh and salted was called zir. Attein the use of the language of Mishnah and Tatmud, even if it is presumably not unrelated. is, must nevertheless be authoritative for us in notes from , them, and according to this zir means a dip, for the preparation of which the fat, the juice and perhaps also the blood of fish was used; Ab. sara 2, 6. 7 even casuistically the fats are distinguished, if i zir a fiachctien was found or not found.

Note 13, to p. 107.

The word irtitat witt Buxtorf from [ir^Xw-rf] (Schafvtiess) and from ^))Xov (Scbaf), which I cannot support at all,

307

In the past, this was understood to mean a very valuable currency, e.g. Sota 49, b. Chuttin 52, b and in the following citations: how about Did one now come to designate these by the word "wotte", since there were also words for "middle" and "right" wotte? That müat or mita somewhere means wotte schtechthin cannot be proven, not even from Jonatan to Hos. 2, 5, but just the opposite, e.g. Jonatan says to Ezech. 27, 18 amar müat wotte to or from müat, and Schebuot 6, b we read : the pure wotte of a lamb of the same birth, which one prepares to müat; also it would be incomprehensible in itself, instead of the so common Hebrew or

above does not mean einmat Wotte ! Others have better combined the words in question with mitet, since the Greek mitesian wotte for the best gatt; already Aristophanes in the Frogs V. 544 mentions purple blankets by Mitet, and it is also highly praised in Ptin. 8, 73. However, müat was not understood to mean wotte or wotte fabrics from Mitet, Shebuot 6, b is against this, and the müat in Jonatan in Ezech. 27, 18 was supposed to be from Damascus; rather, from one's own purchase or through the kuf, Mitesian woven and woven fabrics were called müat. ats know quite excellently and from this atte finest Wotten or cotton fabrics "Mitet", like we call "Orteans" and > Nanking", fatts one does not prefer to assume that the Taw was already spoken softly and atso müas or mües is taken from the adjective "mitesisch". In the term müa jparhaha Nidda 17, a the epithet is not yet recognized.

Note 14, zn p. 108.

Most later Jews ascribed the techetet a known btaue color, and without doubt btos this hatb Aruch has the kata-üan, wetches man nach B. mezia 61, b und anderen Tatmudstetten zuweiten to techetet, without atte factual or etymotological justification for indigo. It is worth noting, however, that Rashi and Ibn-Esra in Exodus 25:4 both deviate from the techetet for jarok, which they may have understood to mean btau green; and the well-known Stette Chuttin 89, a, the techetet gteiche to the sea, the sea to the sky : for if one had thought it simple btau, it was much more appropriate to compare it directly with the sky, it must atso much more into the green. have overplayed. Even for that kata-üan, which so deceptively 20C

308

ätnticb Keweseu, sicti can be all of this red color show. Sat'.iis in seiuen Beiträgen zur S[]racti- und Aiterthumsforschang 1, 132 in the course of another study was referred to the word xaXXcet`C)v led, anit vcrmGincnd that this -apparently only from xeAiz(V&v gebitdet' would be, he took auL^ti for tQretzteres a distrahirtc Kebeoform xeJ.afvov, hierfar (he says) want others xeXafXov said and again from this the Jews have made keta-itaity. Attein xaXXäVvov ^t not gebitdet from xeXseivbv and also not distrahirt, which both will be shown, and from it is atsd also not to fotgern that one has also said xeXafvov for xeXaiviv, but aboveein does not mean xEXsHviv btau at all, which Sachs assumes for the love of the keta-itan, but black and dunket. But as Passow shows, Xf^Xat'! was a btau-green edet stone and of this xaX^tVov -btau and green

double X ; from ' Sachs I take btos , with thanks, that the Jews may have said ktitaüon for this adjective and from it scbtiesstich kaUt-itnn. This also gives the surrogate ites techitet the btaugreen color.

Note 15, to p. 109.

4

I will venture a few views on the various types of silk and silk fabrics mentioned in the Talmud and Midrash, It is difficult to come to a certainty in this. Shabbat 30, h. Menachot 39, b. Sifra 144, a are called next to each other shiraim, katach and xeriooA, the first two also Kitajim 9, 2. About sericon can be urtured most certainly, because according to Strabo 15 the seriseheo were witness to a byssus, which is combed in the land of the Seren from an att tree bark, and also according to Ftio. 6, 20, 12, 8 they consisted of banmseide. Shiraim were undoubtedly made from the spun silk of the silkworm; they are Kitnjim jer. 9, 2 by Mefnxa, and this may have been a lesser variety of the real silk zeagex, but it is wrongly understood to be raw silk, because Shabbat 20, b is told by the brother of the exitsfftrst that he had been in Metaxa. In the last sentence, Abaji identified it with sckira-fara-HiJa, uud Sachs ib. 2, 185 combines faranita with the late Greek tipiiivft04 (fringes), but this does not fit the context. It is more closely related to the Arabic iiriid, which according to Frej^tag comes from the Persian and was a jmnnus serictis simpIex, nan variegatus aoU , in

309

According to this explanation, however, sericus does not exactly mean seric, but silk; schira-far, was thus not a thing of real silk, but of peculiar workmanship, and the same is presumably derived from the photographic one, namely from the second Targum to Ester, Buxtorf leads to 5, 1. 6, 10 schira-parnagan and seh, pamigan. while in the edition I used it says seh. harganan or imrninan, but I cannot decipher all four readings. The double note Sota 48, b about seh, faranda is unhistorical. - Finally, kataeh Shabbat 20, b is explained by R. Jizchak through guschkerä, by Rabin through metaxa, but there is little to be said about this, since they are two different explanations, apparently they knew each other. Babytonians do not kataeh, and btos riet, as is told there,

be. In Yerushatmi Kitayim 9:2 and Shabbat 2:1, this questioning of the sailors is attributed to R. Shimon ben Gamtiet. Shimon ben Gamtiet, but I very much believe that the Babti's statement in this is the preference, for it is quite conceivable that this Palestinian would not have known kataeh at all if, at about the same time, the pat. Author of the Mishnah in Kitayim 9, 2 and Shabbat 2, 1 Vor- are there any writings on kataeh that would have been inconceivable without knowledge of this material? moreover, the Yerushatmi on the two tetzten Stetten kataeh durch aghon oder anhon von Cäsar ea erktärt, und even if I cannot decipher both forms of this erctifying word, kataeh must have been known in Palestine from Caesarea. Because of its unintelligibility, nothing at all can be inferred from Kitayim 9:2 about kataeh, not even whether it refers to the wotte or the ftachse, and what Maimonides says about it in Kitayim 10:1 seems to me to be vague; but this unintelligibility confirms my belief that kataeh was known in Palestine, for only something completely familiar could be expressed in this way. Now Wiesner in his Schotten zum babyt. Tatmud 2, 45, in response to the two arguments that in Sardinia a material made of shell silk is called guacara, and that Samuet received information about kataeh from seafarers, that gusehkera can be found in this Sardinian witness! One can leave that to one's own devices, and even Hesse can assume that gusehkera meant a low type of silk, since Gittin 56, a schtehtes Brod or Kteienbrod is also mentioned. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that it was seafarers who provided the Samuet with information about kataeh; and considering that this or a type of it was then again attributed to the maritime city of Caesarea.

310

it is not entirely improbable that it was a shell silk. Just as silk was obtained from the mollusk in Sardinia and in even greater quantities on the coasts of Italy, this mollusk could also be found in Caesarea and used for this purpose; whereas it cannot be assumed that a silk-like material would have been brought from the Asian hinterlands to the coast of the Mediterranean and called "Caghon of Caesarea" here.

But I do not want to leave unmentioned that according to Ptin. 12, 21 on the island of Tytos in the Persian Gulf there were trees of whose "wotte"

The fact that katlach was used for wicks according to Shabbat 2. The fact that, according to Shabbat 2:1, katlach was used for wicks proves nothing about the very low value of this material, as it was not used for this purpose.

only atte lobes of it. - Also, a factually related set from Taanit jer. 4, 5, as far as I have to utilize it.

That is where the story is first told, in Migdat - Zeboim (which may be connected with Har-Zeboim Bicurim 1, 3 is identical) there were eighty weaving mills of pitgam or ^nY^i's, and the commentators explained this by faranda^ atso for a silk fabric. I considered this to be correct in part, for according to the context there it was a valuable



The "Jewish" facial expression is a phenomenon, by the way, which is not only observed in racial or religious individuals belonging to Judaism. It is found among all peoples of the world, it is observed among Chinese, Japanese, Indians as well as Armenians and Europeans'. This phenomenon must have certain reasons which we cannot yet state with certainty. One thinks of miscegenation, of old age, of decadence, of the play of chance. As long as we are not in a position to attribute the shaping of the soft parts of the face to the same fixed rules of heredity and the influence of the environment as we can. environment, as is the case with the skeleton, the explanation of the facial type will remain on uncertain ground. We still lack the means of mechanically defining the type which the eye infallibly grasps. And even if we could, we wouldn't have found the solution to the puzzle after all. For the spiritual cannot be dissolved into physical dimensions. Therefore

l All attempts to grasp the Jewish race, or rather the Jewish people, by the means of natural science must remain unsuccessful. The Jewish question is one of the most complex in anthropology, and the old master of this science, Felix von Luschan, who died a few years ago, who in his younger years made a bold attempt to solve it, later became more skeptical and finally, at the end of his life, he doubted .of this possibility at all. So far, we haven't gotten past him.

- IJ.M. Judt, Die Juden als Rasse, 8.213ff. C. H. Stratz, Was sind Juden? An ethnographic-anthropological study, p. 22 ff.

two colors, as both were very common for silk in the Atterthum, and compare Tara 1, 3, where pitgis is double-natured.

whether the word is related to TuoXXaxc? and 7coXXa)(ö)S (in a vietertei way), or is derived from the Semitic ptag (hatb) like pitegesch from ptag-ischa (hatbfrau), is a secondary matter here. Then it goes on to say that there were eighty schiddot sctiet matctias in Sichin, and K. Jannaj adds that there were no schidda in his time.

One commentator refers this to iron chariots, but another prefers the variant schirot y schira, and also includes in it the well-known term for silk, but without worrying about matchas. I prefer the second reading for this reason alone, since an indication corresponding entirely to R. Jannaj's addition is also found in Sota 48, b and expressive silk stuff; but then it should not be doubtful that here matctias is a corruption or another spelling of metaxa.

Note 16, zn p. 110.

The extent to which the pieces of art mentioned in the Mishnah, Tatmud and Midrash were of Palestinian or foreign origin is not always clear from their Semitic or foreign origin.

311

neiinung animals, such as itie Moed katan jer. 3. 2 mentioned bnhm-iii (Mataria) and the often-mentioned stidtttr, despite their Tateinic naming, were certainly mostly made in Palestine itself, and on the other hand the Semitic naming still does not exclude pieces of defense, which came from Phonicia, Syria and Arabia in the pat. handet

On the whole, however, this is not worthy of mention. Now the number of occurring semi-nominal names of pieces of clothing is already a considerable one, but the number of foreign names of sotchen in this literature is strikingly large. Thus I have compiled a list of those that are of a different kind Kitayim 9. 7. ib. jer. 9, i. 7. Shabbat JO, a. 92, b.

ai4, a. 120, a. 147, b. ib. jer. 6, 1. 4. 16, 5. t'esachim 61, a. MoBd kataii jer. 3, 2. gittin ö9, a. Nedarim Bö, h. ib. jer. 7, 3. JUihuaot 10 4 Rabbah 3 6 and although the similar Iftingians were only one of them, since they did not use the same name, there were still about 42 foreign names, some of which may be foreign. wetche are to be identified with domestic time limits "with this is "far outweighed by the fact that, from many different ilh overt,inf. the number can still be significantly increased - I out ".s but from my current task completely exclude the question of the i,( haffenheit tei hmati(en heimische wie importiiteii Kteidungsstücke und über die Benennungen der tetzteren in aichöotogischen Untersuchungen einzugehen, das würde ein Weikchen fttr sich erfordern, zu ■wetchem freitich Sachs has already deepened some valuable materials.

Thus Shabbat 114, a hypothetically assumes that the ketim otairin, which were introduced to the sea, were white; and in response to the objection that R. Jaïinaj had mistaken his sons to graze not in white and not in black garments, but in k. otairin C, a distinction is made there: mants of these would have been red, kteiders white. On the other hand, Nidda 20, a assumes that they were black and, in response to the same objection, distinguishes between the following: mants were red, tablecloths black. Sachs now explains 1, 130 the foreign "word by ^Xo-vera, in the sense of really purple or really black. Wiesner, however, 2, 230 wottte dXoupyti (purple oath) in it, and he certainly added that Sachs had already guessed that purple oaths were meant there, but

C A very similar injunction is given in Kitayim Jer. 9, 4,

312

Jus rei:hte word not tiiiJen küniieu. ReiJe etymotogies are abenteuerticti; atier also against the fact that real purpurkteider are genieint, I tiabe to object that in sotchen yet wotit not the Schriftgetehrten f0r gewöhntich appeared, as according to Shahbat 114, a anzD-would be to take, and that still viet less ß. Jaïinaj, precisely because w so sinnvott spoke to his sons, would have commanded them to bury him in such a robe. I am less convinced ats herevtHi the correctness of my own conjecture about this, but

I have them in common. Namely, it could be that, similar to fiXooTjpLxiv, there was a word 6\oiptm (all of Wotte), and that the substance so named usually came in color in the pat. handet.

- The so related ktingende titaria, durch wetches Sehabbat jer. 6. 4 which are explained in Jcs, 3, 23, would have Sachs 2, 54 for nnnriti. Welding cloths, "which might also have been wound around the head"; I experience more vetaria in them.

Note 17, to p. 113- IKi.

1 .M "^

The studies on the writing materials of the atten have not yet been dismissed even after Löw's estimable work

I will only mention in advance that I did not go into the differences between gewit, ktaf and ducksmtos, as they are - still not sufficiently ei'mitted. -

The papyrus preparation is Sota 49, b. Rabba 1, 31 papir, Ketim 24, 7. Sota 9, 15 apij/eir, Kiddushin jer. 3, 4 kart's (yipTrfi), but called gewöbutichb major. Samples of its written use are: the one to the Krämerbuche (pinax) Ketim 24, 7, to Zöttnermavken Schabbat 8, 2, to a Schutdscheine Kidduschin jer. 3, 4; in general ^n the schetarot (documents of various kinds) mostly this shi'eib-materialiat to have been used, which is why the no longer good ones according to B. mezia 56, b were sold to the spice merchant for wrapping, just like our paper, documents on parchment would be was not tangtich for this purpose, and likewise, according to Shabbat 8, 2, there were also no stone feasts with him. Mention should also be made of Pesachim 42, b,

that the scribes compile the sheets of this paper as required. teimten. - Apart from the deiö already mentioned in Jer. 36:18, the Mishnah and the Tammud also contain a fairly good number of other things that could be derived from the Scriptures; but an examination of these will show how few of them are considered useful inks in

313

can come into consideration. Four of these are mentioned in Shabbat 12, 4 and Gittin 2, 3: 1) sam, but Musafia wrongly understands this to mean the white Sami earth, for this could just as well have been called btos sam, as the chalk of the islands could have been called btos sam.

Cimotus Shabbat 9, 5 ats kimotia is listed: attein in itself already it is questionable to ascribe a foreign origin to a word when it can be easily derived from one's own language, here from sam (putver), and moreover the phrase thereof (samemanijöt) occurs in Shabbat 12:3 and more often in the sense of color putver. Rashi can rather be interpreted as wetcher

he understands this to mean auripigment ; indeed, he mentions the latter Chuttin 88, b in the sarnich there, and certainly rightly so, since it is also used in the Arabi

but this is not a contradiction in terms, since sam does not designate the specific type of substance. Auripigment resulted in a colored ink. 2) stkra, a reddish color. It is not clear from Isa. 3:16 that a red dyeing substance was used, but it is probable in itself; however, it would not be impossible that sikra was understood and used to mean the minium widely used in the trade. 3) knmiis, without doubt rubber, which the Greeks also called kommi; the atramentmu of the Romans usually consisted of

Water, carbon black and gum. 4) kankantum, from )(aXxav9'0V, a copper vitriot water used to make blacking and ink. Shabbat 104, b five more are mentioned: atso 5) Tarja water, completely untreated. known. 6) a preparation of gattäpfetn, but the stette setber shows that one had hardly begun to recognize the value of the gattäpfet for the preparation of a good ink. 7) Btei.

8) and 9) schacJwr and schichar^ two further blacks of us un-

are based on. It seems to me that only dejö, gum water and those made from copper vitriol were used as effective inks.

However, by dealing with the writing materials of the time here only out of consideration for the Handet, I also thought it advisable, in order to estimate its scope, to summarize what was to be written with it; it will be possible to deduce several times as much about the Handet, and by the way such a compilation may also be of cultural-historical interest. Atso :

I. With the increase in synagogues in the country and the written In addition to their honored activities, the preparation of Torah scrolls and the copying of other biblical texts must also be part of their work.

314

Büther viet frequentiRCr be gpworiten. In addition, as the Pharisaic religion spread throughout the world, the production of teüttin and mesusot must have increased.

Nothing was done during this entire period. much in Palestine, and to take copies of the larger or stonier writings that had been found, was a common occurrence, although I do not greatly object to the assumption now being made that the Mishnah, the Tosifta, etc., were danced orally and only written down centuries later, since the evidence for this is far from clear. are to eictiwacta , the sober question to sott again, as this would only have been possible with works of such great scope. Each fatts, however, there have been records of hatai bischen Inhatte^ (- Geheimrotteu"), as well as hagadic, geneatogistien, historibtheu Inhattes.

III. had also taken it upon himself to write letters, vgt. Mogd katan 3, 3.

IV. The fact that the Kramer led a kind of &chutdbuthes is often mentioned in Schebuot 7, 1 and elsewhere, but it is likely that writing was still widely used in the mercantile sphere.

V. The drafting of civil-legal documents was used very extensively; I found 38 different types of such documents mentioned, namely 7 of a legal nature, 19 of another private nature, and 12 types of judicial documents. Of these, 23 are mentioned in the Mishnah and one in the Tosifta are mentioned in such a way that they must have been practiced long before: and among the 14 others, which only appear in the Tatmud, there are also some that reach up to a higher age. Their enumeration would require a considerable amount of space, especially since discussions could not be avoided, especially on the side that I actually 47 BenenniiSgen

9 of the same name are only other names of documents which are 38 already occur: that would not be appropriate within this work. But I must not conceal the fact that the 38 or 47 mentions from Tob. 7, 14. Shehiit 10, 3. Moßd katan 3, 3. 4. 18. b. ib. jer. 3, 3. Ketubot 1, 2. 11, 5. 19, a. 79, a. 93, a. 96, a. Gittin 1, 1. 4, 4. 8, b. 57, b. KidduscMn 70, b. B. kamraa 70. a. 112, b. mezia 1, 7. 9. 7, b. 16, h. 19, a..20, a. 72, a. 104, b. jer. 1, 8. 8, 11. Tos. mezia c. I. batra 10. 3. 4. 8. 29, h. 38, a. 40, a. 163, a. 168, a. Tos. batra c. 9 are read together. It is very possible, however, that my censure is not yet quite complete, for almost

n

315

I was certain, however, that not all of these documents are mentioned in the Talmudic literature, as they are only ever mentioned in the latter in passing or by way of example. However, the fact that within this sphere they were not written btos mutta, but also mutfum, goes from the already mentioned note about the sale of the no longer The fact that scribes of the profession are frequently mentioned is also evident from the fact that they are kindly given to Gewtirzkrämer. With regard to the handet, however, I take from the Mitgetheitten Dreiertei:

1) that a population of such significant legal significance iii with regard to mine and yours, as can be seen from the enormous number of people living in its

The traffic that has been practiced in the past is also the result for the sites of the trade that stood around them in such a large gateway, eye and mind must have been open - atso also from this side a confirmation of their manual activity;

2) that one type of these documents concerned the Handet, namely the B. mezia 104, b mentioned schetar iska, wetcher at a The law of joint trading established the duties and rights of each shareholder, according to which a trading partnership of two was not permitted;

-3) that on the whole it was not exactly written much, but still sufficiently to be able to write in this work also the writing materials among the noteworthy pat. handet articles with enumerated to be allowed. One must also consider that it was also written about the pagans there, about private as well as pagan courts in the many places of mixed population, we find Ab. sara 13, a sotche courts mentioned.

Note 18, p. 115.

The "set of Sodom" and the one with the nickname *istruknit* are Beza 39, a. B. batra 20, b. Menachot 21, a and Tos. Menachot c. 9, in Sifra 27, b, the *tetzer* name *asturknit* appears. What Rashi says about both varieties is insufficient and completely unattested, I take *b'tos* from Menachot 21, a that the sentence of Sodom was always available, but not the second variety, according to which *tetztere* *woht* was im-ported. Rapaport derives the foreign word from *Istakhar*, but

The similarity in sound is all too slight, and those Talmudic settlements also suggested that this phrase was very common in Palestine, which

316

is not to be assumed from one from the distant land of Persis. I understand this to mean a sentence from Ostrakine, the city on the narrow strip of land between the Sirbonian Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and after this presumably gained many sets; also according to Ptin. 31, 39, this region had stone. - Then Ab. gara 2, 6 is forbidden to buy a set of *satkontit* from pagans, and ib. 39, b. jer. 2, 10. Tos. c. 5, it is stated as the reason for the prohibition that this set of entrails of "unclean" fish had an addition, but it is reported that R. Me'ir *b'tos* had the black variety of this set, R. Jehuda *b'tos* the white, but a third party had both varieties under-says. It should also be mentioned that this sentence ib. 39, b *satkujidrit*, jer. 2, 10 *satuknerit* is assigned. Lewysohn has already rightly ib. p. 277 rightly traced the foreign word back to *sat conditus* and to Ptin. 31, 40. 41, where a sentence is mentioned that was made from prepared fish take, and later added: *conditus etiam odoribus addifis* etc. But the subject is not yet fully explored, for L. "that the sentence obtained was prepared with added odors" while Ptinius evidently speaks of two different sentences, of the *sat e 7nuria* in ch. 40, but of the *sat conditus* in ch. 41 after the interjection of countless other sentences. One can see what L. has led to this unjustified *idAitifi-* cation, namely the fact that the Talmud under *sat conditus* understood a set of fish: but this proves rather that in this Ptinius and Talmud do not quite coincide, nor should he have failed to see that Ptinius speaks of a set obtained from darkened fish-take, but Talmud of one which was mixed with fish guts. It seems to me that in Syria - ib. 39, b a boraita of the purchase of the *sat conditus* in Syria - had many a prepared *sat*, such as one "mixed with odors", one mixed with fishy substances, one made shiny by pork fat (*vergt. ib.*), perhaps also the Roman one made of fishtake and other kinds, and that they are The common term *sat conditus* was used here, but only the second and third types were known to those scribes. That but also Jews prepared and enjoyed a *sat conditus*, go viet-



that Boraita, according to which it was only to be bought by reliable Jews. - Finally, Rashi has sufficiently explained the gitetanita of the sentence GhuUin 113, a by gassa (coarse-grained), one forgets (jitete müctia of ib. 112, a and just gotat Ezr. 5, 8.

317

Note 19, p. 117.

Sefögy bath sponge, is of course identical with GTiyyo?, Attic acpoyyoS, but from this no etymon and apart from derivations no word of related meaning can be found in Greek, whereht but from sefög in Hebrew: mesappeach stands Chab. 2, 15 in Pa-rattetism with mashkeh, and hereafter it means woht to drench as well as safach to drink in, to soak in, metaphorically of the wrath of God as shatii weta,u Obad. 16, and drink wrath, drink mockery Itiob 6, 4. 34, 7 ; likewise mispo, food, comes from safa, and perhaps safah, lip, is also connected with it. The frequent expression sofeg et-haarhaim I do not want to make it meaningful, since it could have been born from sefög, like sipgo hemetach Sebachim 6, 5 (he lets the Btut be swallowed up by scattered sentence), only after this would have been accepted from the Greek; but it is not probable that one for the somewhat very prosaic reception of goat blows that you- It is more likely that safag would have absorbed the connotation of receiving, receiving like a sponge, since the time of living language endings. However, the fact that the Jews must have known and used the bathing sponge, which grows in abundance in the Gulf of Acco and is so extremely useful, in pre-exilic times, even if it was only the word sefög, speaks to me far more strongly for an earlier acquaintance of the Jews with the word sefög. by the Tyrians, and there is no other word for it than sefög in Hebrew. I therefore assume that the Greeks first received this sponge from the Phoenicians and transformed its name sefög into aTuöyyo? would have been more confident if aTTöyyoS had not already been mentioned in Itias 18, 414, but this is not a decisive counter-argument, since the Phoenicians had demonstrably already been trading with the Greek coasts centuries before.

Note 20, to pp. 119-126.

To n. 21 of § 36: According to Ptin. 27, 5 near Jerusatem, there must have been a very weak variety of atoes: but it is precisely because of this nature of the atoes that one will have to refer to the

uiiit Kabha 1, G!'i would be Zimmt (khinamöii) aucti in Patüstiuu  
gewactiseu, jüdocU both AnKabeu erscIieineE uuhistorisch, weshatb die von  
Wiesner

2, 129 attempted information is completely useless. However, I have  
p. 119 not particularly listed, since it was the oet which the myrrh of  
setbst euttitoss, and with this it is therefore Menachot 8G, a correctly  
ideutifitirt. I also went as far as I could find it in the cuttuetted  
list of Keritut 6, a, but there was not a single trace of any other use  
of it by the Jews of that time.

Re N. 30: From the recorded tatciu name fotiar  
tum, I suspect that" antUngticL this Kuustät was ready to be  
introduced, but after p. 9'J uachiuats it was also applied in  
Patästina.

If you do not get it as an import article, so  
dafftr Amumum would have to be autgcfühi-t, because of the eight  
ingredients of the fotiatwm, which Ptiu. 13, 2 were listed, Costum,  
Nard and myrrh already listed by me, and four others were  
indigenous to Pataestina, but not Amomum , and Ptiuius  
nntcrsoheidut this 12, 28. 42 very ktar of Cinnamomum (ZimnU).

Re n. 31: The ßmt is mentioned in Shabbat 62, a and Gittin 69,  
b, and Ptinius 22, 18, 27, 100 speaks of ^üXAov. We also know  
not sure which dance genre was meant by this, so  
the Greek name already points to its non-Pattistine origin; and this is even  
more probable if it is called

Those who are right may think of Sitphium, which was a respectable  
export article of Cyreue. It should be mentioned that I am not allowed  
to mention the 8. 99 discussed Iriunon, a plant from the Iris plant,  
because some people considered this plant to be identical with  
Sitphium.

Zn N. 33 and 34: Sangbit and darzin are Shahbat 65, a er-  
but not ats identical, t^e Sachs 1, 141 gtaubt. The sangbit identifies  
Aruch with muthiu, and it is hereafter sinziber (ginger); üittin 86, a  
this is called gmber, presumably contrahirt from gin- giber, a  
secondary form of zmzibet

Re n. 70-76: The mountains of Palestine have, according to Deut. 8, 9  
They contained iron and copper, but certainly very little, and  
presumably these too, but all the other metals that were processed  
there in this later period, Gotd, Sitber, Btei and Ziuu, were imported  
from abroad. One use of Btei can be found

We Shahbat 104, b. Synedrin 52, a. B. mezia 23, b. Menachot 38, b.  
B, batra 89, b; those of Ziuu in the two last Stetteu as well as in  
the Targum Jonatan to 4 Mos. 31, 22, in that the designations there

are

Jcastira nnd i/Utron sowie kustiterion Synedrin jer. 7, 2 sänimttirti from xa!iij{TepoC are corrupirti, uud this verrauthticti aucti iu yastron B. mezia 23, b atPL-kt. We find another Metatt banz mentioned Rosh hashchua 24, b. Menachot 28, b. B, batra 89, b; and that it is listed in the last two places next to Btei and Zinn, does not yet contain any contradiction with the statement Synedrin jer. 7, 2, that it was a mixture of Btei and 7Äi\ä, Ptin. 34, 47. 48 even speaks of different legiranges of these two metates. I am not doubtful, by the way, t) that baaz is connected with ahaza, as Onketos translates in 4 Mos. 31, 22 atUt, just compare that this was translated by Jonatan in Ezek. 22 18 through bmz, as against 27, \ 'i is rendered by abaz (both with Ajin); 2) that far in Arabisi'hen huz and biz means to be white bu tz the phim-bum athum or a variety thereof will be

Re n. 83: The late Jewish term dei T'erte duitti margatis is known to have originated from (tapyapiS corrupirt the Jews, however, have known the Perts for many centuries without doubt, even if it cannot be determined what they called them The bibtisthen petiinim had vieten Anspruch hieraut, doih ist nicht wegzodeutftn, dass diesen Ktaget. 4, 7 is ascribed a red color; and, however, Job 28, 18 ■peninim is rendered by the Targum by peiten, but in the other Bible texts differently, mostly by edet stones, just as, conversely, the edet stones 2 Mos ^8, 9 and 17 were rendered by the Targum Jonathan by maryatjan!

To N. 85: Coratas are called Rosi:b-haschaaa 23, a kesita nnd identified with atnmg , also two Aramaic harbors are mentioned there, through which they were introduced to Babytonia. Sachs cites 1, 140 to support the identification with iimny, and although I have said p. 293 that and why I cannot have it for the biblical atmiig, but must recognize in it the Sandethotz, I do not doubt that I later understood it to mean the Korat, especially in the mention of Ketim. 13, 6 of finger rings and Riugpetschafteu of Atraug, this is far more likely to batten for Koratte ats for Sandethotz. Incidentally, the name "Koratte" also occurs in Shabbat jer. 7, 2.

To n. 86: Of the white Gtase, Sota 48, b is hyperbotic said that it ceased with the destruction of the first temple; Succa jer. 4, 6 says more massively that it ceased with the destruction of the temple (of the second), but fantasizes about it in the sentence that it fattened itself (miskafpetet). Referring to white gas

Raschi mentioned the Beracbot 31, a "kassa (ketch) demokraC worth 400 denarii, but Wiesner 1, 62 understands it more correctly as a ketch from Murrha; he could have made a case for it, that otherwise it would not have been immediately afterwards spoken of a ketch of white gas as something similar, but different, and that kassa demokra in the sense of a "werth- votten" would be a linguistically quite appropriate expression. But Wiesner p. 68 brought some good notes about the white Gtas. I was not allowed to include Becher from Murrha in § 36, as far as this interpretation is still uncertain, but also as far as the most recent facts refer to Babytonia. - From Gtas to windows comes in the tatmudi- According to Gibbon, even Augustus himself would not have had a gas for his windows. In contrast, the assertion The assumption that mirrors were not used until the end of the Middle Ages is completely unfounded, for even if I cannot verify the citation I found that Alexander Aphrodisius mentioned mirrors as early as the second century, Ptinius 36, 66 attributes their invention to the Sidonians, and they are mentioned in Ketim 30, 2 as well as in the Targum to Itiob 28, 18 and in T. Jonatan to Deut. 33, 19. Jonatan to Deut. 33, 19, also Shabbat 149, a is mentioned by other mirrors in contrast to metatheses. the speech.

Note 21, to p. 128. 129.

To N. 2: That black wine was a lot from Syria, because Ptin. 14, 4, 8 of a variety of black grapes, which is called the Syrian.

To N. 3 : That the vaunted wine fnigaüa was the Phrygian hydro-meti, far after Ptin. 14, 20 this drink is nowhere better ats was prepared in Phrygia is very possible, but by no means safe.

Re N. 4 - 6: According to Tos. Ab. sara c. 5 it is very probable, but not evident, that apple wine, locusts and capers were also imported.

To n. 7: Whether the question of Demai jer. 2, 1 about a ship with fruit and wine that would have come from Rome to Palestine was taken from reality or was merely hypothetical, cannot be determined.

To n. 8 : The sentence about the Aramaic dates Shabbat 29, a refers to Babytonia, but this is precisely what is meant here by "ara-

to Bahytonicii, they presumably also came to the Pataestina that was located in the area,

To n. 9: Beza jer. 1, 9, siki-ikin is used for Süasigtieiton or J Zuckerwerk, and this use of the word seems to be based on the fact that the sugar cakes (saccharon), which Ptinius 12, 17 (remembers, were also imported to Patastina.

Re n. 11: In the case of the cows from Atesandrieti Bechorot 4, 4, I adds that the cows and pigs exported from there were always crossbred, but it is not clear whether this was done for their fattening or so that the species would continue to breed.

Re n. 12: Zunz already explained the cheese of Bet-uneiku as J bithynian, since Ptinins praised it; and effectively Joma 10, a \ Tubat by Bet-uneiki erktärt, this atso at least to Kteinasien | versetzt, vergt. hierzu Frankers Monatsschrift von 1854 S. 463; also! is from the fact that Bet-uneiku was a city according to Ab. sara 34, h] is all the less of a counter-argument, as there was a city of Bithynium in Bithynia I. However, this explanation is n absolutely safe.

To N. 13: The narratives of the Kik-Oet Shahbat 21, a are 1 incorrect; of its extraction and use in Egypt speak j Herod. 2, 94; Straho 17; Ptin. 15, 7.

Re N. 14: Oh the Gathan from the I The origin of the name is uncertain; a variety of it, Honiggatban, was used according to Gittin 69, a arzneitich.

Re n. 16: tu note 13 it has been shown that the Palestinian Jews of that time also wore the finest Mitesian vestments. and it would have been sufficient, but not necessary, for them to have been driven to this iä by effectively introduced Mitesian substances.

^P Note 22, gteichfatts to ä. 129.

From the collection of foreign articles in the Palestinian traffic of this later period, I spilled the following things:

1. atte those utensils and edible plants of which it is assumed that the name of a place or country attached to them does not denote their continued importation from there, but rather that they were known from there, but presumably tich atsdau in Palestine made or built them. Here belongs woht the Egyptian and the Tyrian ladder, the Egyptian

unJ the tj "ris(^tie window, insgesatiiiut B. batra 3, 6; a medi-  
 scler mortar from Hotz Ketim 23, 3; the raedisctie wheat  
 Stiiatibat jer. 7, 2. 9, 7; the Egyptian sigh and the Egyptian  
 carob, both Kitayim 1, 2, the Greek pumpkin  
 ib. 1, 5; the Greek and Roman hyssop as well as the  
 of Koehtin and the desert, atte four Para U, 7:  
 BronibeerstriLucbe B. batra 83, b, and the ka  
 Gourd Nedarim 61, a, whose epithet refers to Cin-esium on the Euphrates  
 or refers to the citiciscbe Korakesiou. I must say a few more words  
 about the Cypriot onion Teiumot 2, 5. The  
 The epithet cufri is derived from cafar by the commentators, and is  
 therefore understood to mean a village onion, but certainly with un-  
 right. Because 1) with the contrasting expression mibtie harmdina  
 Stadtwiebetu bczeidinen sotten, which is not at all the case in medina,  
 this expression is obviously better suited to describe  
 of the local ones; 2) according to Nedarim 9, 8, the former would have  
 been beneficial for heart complaints, but it would be very striking  
 that the "village onion bed" would have had a medicinal effect before  
 the "city onion bed"; 3) Ftinins 19, 32 also speaks of the ancient  
 onion beds. However, I do not believe that Terumot 2, 5 is talking  
 about onions that were imported to Cyprus, because according to ib.  
 1, 5, the reference was from domestic products to foreign ones or vice  
 versa.  
 Hebe does not apply at all; rather, it must have been onions that grew  
 in Palestine but were of Cypriot origin and type.  
 In the same way I also judge of the dog with the euphemism cufri  
 Kitayim 1, 6, for it may be the Cyprian or, as the Commen-  
 tatoreu, on the other hand, is to be understood as the village dog, even  
 in the first world they did not import dogs from Cyprus for sale, but in  
 Palestine they also had the Cypriot species dersetben.

2. Ab, sara 76, a are four Aramaic utensities.  
 which were used in the pressing of grapes and olives; but it seems  
 to me that Aramaic btos is used here in the sense of pagan.

3. The Pesachim 51, a mentioned "Subsettia of the Gentiles"  
 were not a special kind of sitting, but one was not to sit down with  
 Gentiles on the Sabbath, for it would look like a business  
 transaction.

4. The Tyrian court, in wetchem die Geräte sichar sein, Maasevüt  
 3, 5, weit man ihm nach Nidda 47, b einen Wächter gab; vietteicht  
 sott hier mrit nur Ftechtwerk bedeuten wie Ab. sara 76.

5. The Orta 3, 7 mentioned egose perech, far the opinion  
 of the Aruch that perech was not a place name, but "teicht auf-

a good support.

6. The use of the Persian date Shabbat 29, a refers to Babytonia.

7. The unripe grapes of Bet-hine Pesachim 53, a (Erubin 28, b, the place is called Betjuni, Tos. Schebiit c. 7 Bet-uni) do not belong here, since according to the first stette the place must have belonged to Pataestina, and this also emerges from B. mezia 88, a, if the Bet-hinu there is identical with it, as it very much seems to be.

8. The onions of Rachfa Maaserot 5, 8, far the unknown place vietteicht in Patästina tag.

9. The bread of Hindika Berachot 37, b seems to belong to the baby tonic consumption.

10. The Babylonian beer Shabbat 110, a is btos mentioned by the non-patestiuenser Utta, presumably did not come to Pa- tästina. Likewise

11. babytonische carschinin ib. 81, a, in which I also very much It is doubtful that this word, which occurs overatt ats a plant and is usually used for the vetch, should here mean soil bulkhead, as Rashi knows.

12. The wine with the epithet caprisin Keritut 6, a would have Rapaport for Cypriot, but I for one to which capers are added.

13. In Synedrin 8, 2 I do not find a hatbes log itatic wine, but a hatbes itatic log wine.

14. Nedarim jer. 3, 2 the quadrangular itatic gris is mentioned, but erroneously, the stette should only be a quotation from Negaim 6, 1, where the citic gris stands for it.

15. The pigeons of Rachba Chuttin 62, a and the gentian pigeons identified with them on the following page.

16. The defense pieces of Be-michsi, sacks of Rodia and ropes of Kimchunja, mentioned in Ketubot 67, a, refer to a use in Babytonia. The rhodia in Lycia Ptot. 5, 3, 6 is meant to be heavy.

17. In ufe parsijata Berachot 44, b the last word does not mean Persian at all.

18. Aruch attributed the indigo color to the kata-itan discussed in note 14, but it is clear from my discussion there,



that this is unvictitious, and I was not allowed to include the date here, because even now at the lake of Tiberias Iiiitig pot dances are growing. '

Note 23, to pp. 130-134.

To n. 1: That chcmut is to be derived from (bveöjia (buy), as Wiesner 2, 2 suggests, is to be decisively rejected: it already occurs in Jer. 37, 16, and its derivation from ckanah is also evident in Beinem's derivatum chenwani, where a wate is not inserted into the words of verbis on A^ setten, like chediea and erwa. Only must then the basic meaning of vou chanut could have been "hostel, place [of temporary residence]", but the ctianujot were effective, in thueu not btos the "mer", but also many craftsmen spent the whole day by placing their workshops there, vergt. also that Toa. H. mezia c. 8 the holding of a rented chanut

- According to B. kamma 6, 6 tiicht burned in it in the evening, and the cbanucca lights were brought out and lit on the front side; Kcba rahbati 60, b even occurs chanut ats Wirthsbaus. It is curious that the Arabs also had the word chanut unchanged, but only for wine taverns, and also the cognate chätt (with the dotted Chet) in the three meanings of the Jadic ckanut: terkaufstocat, workshop and hostel (vergt. Frejtag's Lexicon),

To N. 2: Demai 5, 3. 4 we read: "whoever gets bread from the baker But "whoever buys it from the pattir" and so on; also Ab. sara 4, 9 distinguishes between the two, and according to this Rashi does not consider "pattir" to be a baker. But B. mezia 56, a and Demaj jer. 5, 4 understood to mean a man who is accompanied by several the bread was delivered for resale : for ib. 2, 4 and Tos. Demaj e. 3 we read: "who sells in jjaHe"-, and Schebiit jer. 7, 4: it is true that in the year of harvest five brothers gathered cabbage and One of them sells the whole harvest, only they should not make a yatit&r to sell the whole year at the same stette; also Jonathan paraphrases some words of Ezcch. 23, 40: "I have ordered markets and patturin. I rather inherit in it the word TcwXTj-rfjpiov (merchants and also marketplace), to which the word form pateter in the previous sentence fits well.

To N. 4: The word sirke or sidke, batd with, batd without yod after the mmech, can only be found for the Yerkaufsptatz from WeiiW>

or grain in general, so Jebamot jer. 7, 3. shekatim jer. 8, 1. b. mezia jer. 5, 8. Midrash Echa 59, a. Because of the reading sirke, I thought at first of circus, which also means market and market-had: but then it would be very striking that its first c is not represented by the letter ktif; and since above the reading sidke viet occurs more frequently, it seems to me that the word is contracted from atToSoxr^ (grain leaves and grain magazine).

To N. 6: We find the term kaftek in Ab. sara 2, 7.

ib. 40, b. Tos. Ab. sara c. 5. Shabbat 50, a, and I set it aside from aTT00TjXT), by which the Greeks understood a Waarenniedertage , a storehouse; also pauses to this atte mentioned stetten vott- constantly, and deshatb I cannot dissuade myself from this by it tassen, that in the quoted Tosifta ozar is placed next to it, much more either haftek was effective in an insignificant point different from ozar, or the Tosifta has btos heaped up the expressions.

Later, I found that Atfas has downright apotJiek for haftek at the end of the second section of Ab. sara.

Re N. 7: It seems to me that there may have been weekly markets on Mondays and Thursdays in the past:

1) It has not yet been proven that the "assembly days", as according to Megitta 1, 1. 2 which were called Mondays and Thursdays, had been called so at all, "far" according to Ketubot 1, 1 on these days were the court sessions ; 2) it is certain that on them the country votk moved to the city, and thus they had to become market days from setbst attmätig.

To n. 8 : We find many different versions of the following word

Forms: attus (beginning with ajin and ending with sajin) Ab. sara 11, b; attes (with atef and samech) Temura 3, 5; Keritut 3, 7; hatUs and Utis Rabba 1, 79; kathis Ab. sara 40, b; kafteson Tos. Ab. sara c. 5 ; ketotson Tos. B. mezia c. 6. Their identity is undisputed, in which the ajin was also often pronounced more harshly, e.g. Amora Go- morrha, Asa Gaza; and just as undoubted is the derivation of xataXuat?, by which Herodotus means the hostel of the caravans and was later understood to mean any inn. From the mention of the attus of Gaza Ab. sara 11, b nothing more distant can be inferred; but according to Keritut 3, 7 cattle were for sale in the attus of Emmaum, according to Temura 3, 5 cattle were offered for sale and slaughtered in an attus and the fish was sold by the pound, and according to Tos. B. mezia c. 6 also wine and according to Tos. Ab. sara c. 5

Apfetwein feit, Still another thing about him Jäßt sich aus der tetzteu

Stette oiitnfhmen, only this requires a kteinen Erfti'ter^^^ Nümticti Ab. sara 2, 7 is beiitimnit. that "Heusdi recken aus der sdvta nicht Benossen werden sotten (weit dann schon verbotener Wein anf sie geeprengt sei), dagegen sotche ans dem hassfk ertaubt sind". And in the same tosifta it is said: "ApfBtweiu aas

also those sold in the Icaüeson, but those from the market are forbidden if they are spoiled (by forbidden wine); Grasshoppers and capers from the haftck or from the ozar or directly from the Si-tiiffe are deaf, but not those bought in the setit from the Kramer, as far as they are sprinkled with forbidden wine (U her haft^ has already been spoken, for setuta and setit ate, h can find no better explanation than that of Rashi, that BS means like ssat basket; as the 'Cta n n sC t t ftechteu means, as well as Ab. sara jer. 2, 3 nistat verfto hten so can also

the setit of Negaim II, 9 for a battle \on treituh of others  
The distrahiiteu foimeu setuta and setit probably denoted a large basket, and a sotcher was also necessary when the grocer put out horrors for sale in it). Now, with the mentioned Mischua and Tosifta, a Boraita

, Ab. sara 40, b evidently in many contradictions, attein un-  
To a certain extent I had considered tetztere to be corrupt, because  
1) Atfas (at the end of the second section of Ab. sara) reproduces it in a completely different wording, especially in the most essential points; 2} it would hardly recur in the Tatmud that M of a Mishnah a diametrically contradictory Boraita kaht was cited without any attempt to clarify it, indeed without even mentioning the existing contradiction.

3) it cannot escape the notice of anyone sufficiently penetrating that it contains factual inaccuracies, the proof of which I do not require much elaboration. I even believe that a torrectio in pejM has contributed to its present-day meaning, caused by the fact that cattus was understood to mean the market in general, as by atten Commcntators, but also Itabba 1, 7ft ascribes to Eiz\atei Jakob, in Sichern Itattiitin, while Shabbat 33, b the local was attributed to the establishment of "markets". This tosifta, on the other hand, still expressly distinguishes the market from the kattus, it stands for the Waareiiiiiedertage and the ship pond, in which there were still

not plastering the walls for sale like on the srÄaÄ and  
tu dor "etuta. Incidentally, the fact that the kattus was not a permanent market would

327

one might be tempted to infer from Temura 3, 5, the expression Arachin 6, 5 shows "if one goes with a cow to the attes waits". It should also be mentioned that Eber's "Through Gosen to Sinai" p. 178 says: "There are still open markets in the Orient today not only in the cities, but rather also as an independent merchant on particularly busy country roads"; but I abstained from deciding whether my view of the kattus, or Ebers' proposal should be modified somewhat.

Re N. 9: According to Ab. sara jer. 1, 4 also found in the pundak Han-  
The Greeks used xajrrjXoS to refer to merchants of the smallest kind,

The Tartar word cavpo also means innkeeper and trader. Note 24, to p. 136.

In Pesachira 116, a tagre charach is mentioned, and Rashi says that far charach means window, it means a shopkeeper who presented goods to customers through a window. However, such shopkeepers of the most stone-like kind would hardly have been called fagar, and it is also unlikely that the almost unusual word charach would have been used for window instead of the very common word chattön.

For the latter, however, Aruch has the reading /<sup>^</sup>aracÄ, and this receives some support from the fact that the Talmudic expression refers to spice merchants; there may have been people who brought spices, aromas and other "delicate" articles, and both words of the expression would fit Sotche. But this interpretation is also uncertain.

Note 25, to p. 139.

In Athens, the agoranomen had to supervise the sale of goods, prevent irregularities and ensure order in the market. A branch of this was the supervision that the weights and measures were made and weighed according to samples, and that only these were used under penalty of punishment: the men charged with this were called metronomes. Finally there were sitophytakes (grain guards), whose most important task was to record the amount of grain imported and to report to the authorities to calculate the continued consumption of the same, so that precautions could be taken to avoid grain shortages; in addition, however, the

the>>p MaDiioi auLti to practise that grain, flour and bread were sold according to the set measures with the use of the goods. Because of the particular importance of this type of consumption, special metronomes were set up for this purpose; and for this reason also in Athens (vergt Ijsiai' Rede gegen die Korntiändter) the middlemen sold grain (about 50 liters) to the Phormos for an obol above the purchase price, furthermore they were forbidden to buy more than fifty phorrai of grain on pain of death, whereas wholesalers who imported goods by ship were very welcome. In Rome, the Aediles used to be in charge of the market, but Augustus separated the supervision of the grain trade from this and entrusted it to the praefectus annonae. It should also be mentioned that (according to Appian 2, 48 of the Civil Wars) Caesar once appointed his own appraisers of those market goods with which the shuttlers had to satisfy their creditors instead of with money. - The most common Jewish word for market overseer now occurs in our quatrains in the most diverse forms: B. batra 89, a tautet es agai-ifam, Ab. sara 58, a seems to occur even agardannm at Singutar, Sifra 203, b tautet es agaräim, Deraaj jer. 2, 1 agronimos,

but not that these are total origins of the word ngoranomos; and it should also be mentioned that 2 Mack. 3, 4 instead of 7 Tapavojt{aÄ the codex Atex, äyopavofist'a? and the Comptut. äyopavo[i,faS tiest, which is not necessarily to be rejected. In addition, however there are also other names for this office: Joma 9, a jiarhedHn, Rabbah 1, 98 mesckaer, Kiddushin 76, b res<:k'tmr& , fatts the latter word with Rashi from the grain mass id"- is to be derived, in which respect it corresponds very closely to the Roman praefectus annonae. Whether this mesckah- refers to someone who had to watch over the prices, or even to someone who fixed the daily price, cannot be decided.

Note 26, fu p. 145.

The market of the zammarim mentioned in Erubin 10, 9 was certainly identical with the ipion&Xix bett. Jud, 5, 8, 1, and although the singutar already means the currency market, the phrase used should not be taken to mean that there were several currency markets in Jerusatem. - In the last sentence Josephus pays jjaXxeCa, whose singutar means a smithy, and it could be that in Jerusatem the smithies were dependent on a secluded urban area for their noiseless work, so that the workshops had to be located in the center of the city.

h^

329

But according to p. 130 about chanut, the blacksmiths also had their products in or in front of their workshops, and those y^xk'Keioc were therefore also the market for blacksmith's goods. - To conclude from the pre-exitic "baker's baker" Jer. 37, 21 that there was also a sotchen in the later Jeru- satem would be daring in and of itself. However, this is true to the extent that it has been shown that those of the same trade liked to have their stand together, especially if that was the case, The baker's bazaar was strongly represented to meet the need; and presumably this baker's bazaar was understood under the patfer discussed in note 23. Chatta 2, 7 shows that bread was sold at the market. - According to Bosch haschana 31, a "the synedrium wandered from the Quaderhatte (des Tempets) to the chanut, from there to the Jerusatem", according to which the traditional assumption that the middle location was on the Tempetberg is to be accepted. It is worth noting that this location is also called Synedrin 41, a and Ab. sara 8, b chamd, in the Singutar, and btos Shabbat 15, a chanujot. It seems to me that these stalls took up a part of the hadd, wetche the forehead of the Tempetberg, for the meetings of the Synedrium in or near these chanujot certainly did not take place in the open air; in bad weather the rain would have fallen, in good the

that the merchant traffic was gladly tolerated in Hatten. - Finally we find Matth. 21, 12 and Marc. 11, 15, that Jesus chased away all the sellers and buyers from the marketplace and the tables. the weasels and the pigeon sellers' stalls were overturned; but John says in 2:14 that oxen and sheep were also being driven there. Now this chasing away and overthrowing of everyone is completely unhistorical, This would definitely not have been possible without active defense and turmoil; and if it was meant in those sentences that other things besides sacrificial props were offered in the temple, this is also to be denied until the contrary is proven elsewhere. But it can be admitted that within the of the temple boundary and were set up for the purpose of the temple tax. The latter is even explicitly stated in Shecatim 1, 3, and since the Tractate Middot nevertheless mentions the The fact that the location of the tables at which the sacrificial animals were sold is not indicated does not mean that this was not the case at all; indeed, if for Shekatim 7, 2 the very tortuous reciprocal view is abandoned

330

witt, so siirictit tiiese Rfette atistei genit vod the Getde, that before the Vietiha.ndiero, that aaf dein Tempc^ttiorgL', uud that iu Jerusatem gefnndeD, after which those Viehbänitter still iniieriatb the Tempetgrenze had their stand. Presumably they had been granted a theit of the sogonan ntea ftiit. between the tempet mau er and the soreg, for this purpose,

Note 27, to p. 147.

I

I'tiniurt says 5, 16, there was no agreement; itarftber. weti'he cities the Itekapotis would have gebitdetu, but most naniiteu ats sotehe: Damascus, Fhitaitetiibia, Kaptiana, Seythopotis, Gadara, ItippoB, Dion, Petta, Gatasa and Canatha. That Seythopotis belonged to them, we also read. Jnd. 3, 9, 7; and that Gadara, Hippos and Petta were among them, Ensobius also testifies. However, nothing can be inferred about this from Ptot, 5, 15, 22.23, as it has been said that there iu incomprehensible way Cötesyrieii and the Decapotis are mixed together.

Damai^kus has been known to want to do so, far Josejihus a. a. 0.

one of them was Damascus. Attein it is in the nature of such city alliances that if one city leaves, another enters, and so, just as Josephus wrote, Damascus may have been excluded. This difference may have contributed to the fact that, according to Ptiaius, the referents did not agree on the cities of the Decapotis; and it may also be very likely that far fewer, far more than ten cities belonged to it, but that one

even then retained the name that had become common for it. - The fact that Seythopotis had, in addition to its pagan bovt core, also a Jewish one, even a strong one, that of Gadara, has already been proven on p. 77, and for Hippos it is attested in bett. Jud. a, 18, 5; because of its location and the meaning of the word, I had assumed tetzteres to be identical with Susita (see my history 2, 339), in which, according to

Bosch haschana jer. 3, 1 there were more Gentiles than Jews; btos in tetzter Siune it can be taken that hett. Jud. 2, 6, 3 Gadara is only called nippos "hettenic" cities.

Note 28, to p. 152.

Quite a few atte citations in this note have been given sporadically in early" parts of this work to substantiate one or another point; here I put them together in order to

The fact that wheat was imported to ships from Atexandria is shown by Tos. The fact that wheat was imported from Atexandria by ship is shown by Tos. Machsirin c. 3. Of a ship of the Jewish patriarch with more than 300 barrels of Thrissa is Ab. sara

jer. 2, 10, and the Thrissa was a genus of fish of the Mediterranean.

A small ship that sailed to Acco with a cargo of murais

Ab. sara 34, b; in addition, Rabbah 2, 9 shows that the Palestinians often obtained it from Spain. According to Ab. sara 39, a, they also obtained prepared "fish pasture" from Petusium and

Spain. Tos. Ab. sara c. 5 speaks of cider, locusts and capers that were brought to ships. According to Chuttin 84, b, Roman linen, according to Moed katan 23, a, the Roman chimuza was in use by the pat. Jews, and both certainly came to them by sea. Kitayim 9, 7 mentions four pieces of defense that came "from the coast and from the sea"; Shabbat 114, a pieces of defense

or fabrics, which were otairhi and gteichfatts "from Sce- tändern"; certainly also many of the immensely rich species of other pieces of defense of foreign designation must be,

which was referred to in note 16, may have been imported from there.

An involvement of the Palestinian Jews in this sector also results from many other atten news, wette

pp. 76 - 78. 154. 157 as well as in Note 30, III are included and discussed.

Note 29, to p. 155.



and replied: until the Tarmudaeans have destroyed the market.  
 cups. It should also be noted that the Greeks also derived the designation of  
 the time of day from the market visit, e.g. Xenophon  
 in Oekon. 12, 1 even has the same expression  $\sigma\tau\alpha\chi\upsilon\alpha\tau^{\wedge}\ \delta\upsilon\omicron\pi\alpha^{\wedge}$ ,  
 and Herodotus speaks in 2, 173. 7, 223 of the time of day "of the vot  
 market". But who would have known that the Patmyrians visited the  
 Pataestinian markets without that casuistic discussion of the chanuca  
 density? and so it is with quite a few of the Tatmudic facts of this  
 work, we owe them to the most atteratable and heterogeneous  
 approaches. There is a twofold conclusion to be drawn from this: 1)  
 that it is precisely this that makes them worthy of the dove; 2) with  
 how much emphasis I have again emphasized that 'the Palestinian trade  
 must have been much more important, ats from these notes to con-  
 and musically together, because where there is no casuistic

338 ^

nder a similar approach nkh to the touching of a mercantile point,  
 these men remained silent about it. And only slightly differently, the  
 same was true of the citations to the Bibet.

Note 30, to p. IS7 ii. 158.

I, Yergt zunAihst Kiddnschui 4, 14, der .Teruschatmi tas aber in  
 dieser Mieshna auch kaait) and in the Geniara he also pays the  
 huhr and the karar; however, I do not see how the potter could  
 have had the reputation of a r&uhers.  
 iind vennuthe therefore da "s msprOngtich btos karar was in the Mishnah,

II. he most I could glean from Erubin 1, 8 - 10 about the  
 transformation of a caravan day was what was mentioned on p. 157;  
 but what Ernbin 15, b and Tos. Ernbin c. 2 still further  
 I can't say that I had any idea about this, but rather that it was  
 advice on how the caravan travelers could prevent the violation of the  
 Sabbath law in question under certain circumstances and if necessary by  
 means of absenteeism. After all, he documented that there were not a  
 small number of Jews in the caravans.

ni. On f&ots called 1 Kings 5:23 ^ober&ot and 2 Chrou. 2, 15  
 rafsoiUI, Chiram sent the Bauhotz, which had been footed on  
 Lebanon, to the Satomonian temple in .toppe. The ship is already  
 mentioned under the name omja in Gen 49:13 and under ont  
 was understood to mean a whole fleet, but in the Bibet it is only  
 called sefina in Jonah 1, 5, and zi btos in poetic speech; there is no  
 factual difference between the vehicles in these three designations.  
 By Tarshish ships, the Bibet does not always mean ships that actually  
 sailed to Tarshish or were intended to sail there, but also ships that  
 were large and permanently built, such as

tiaum, the cradle, the lower hold and a covering of the deck are already mentioned in the A. T., and indirectly the tank, and in Ezek 27. 6 also a board with the ship's sign, similar to the nru);^, but not yet the sail. In the Acts of the Apostles, the rudder, a lifeboat, anchor, sinker and the bramseget occur, but from an Alexandrian ship, while the anchor is also called B. batra 5, 1. In addition, the last stete and the two Tatmuden to it, as well as Tos, B. batra c. 4 vietertei things are listed, which at dg

ä33

The question of whether the sale of a ship was included in the sale or not; and what these things were, or what was to be understood by akat Makhshirin 5, 7, could only be determined through extensive research. but these stelae show that even the inscriptions with these nautical objects were well known at the time, and thus strengthen the evidence that the vessel was a regular shipping vessel.

- I have not included arha, which is often mentioned in the Tatmud, for Palestine, as I did not find it mentioned among Palestinian things or by Palestinian speakers.

the word is contracted from areba ; according to Gittin 6, a rested on sotchen Arben a babyton ship bridge. - In the ships there were wooden boxes for storing drinking water, listening to

and according to Ketim 15:1 they would have taken forty Saa (the ritual measure of the Jewish immersion bath) in the great Alexandrian shafts. - Shipbuilding hotz would have been taken from Lebanon and from the oak forests of Bashan in quantity and of the best quality, and the attempt to secure this had been one of the main reasons for the Ptotemians to keep these lands in their possession; also the Jews may have had barges and a

The expression Machscharin 5, 7 "whoever takes a ship into the great sea to make it denser" can be understood of sotchen who had moved to the land and had become teck.

IV. The letter carriers of Shabbat 10, 4 are wrongly called

The commentators btos refer to bearers of government letters, presumably because of the remark made about them in ib. 92, b, but this does not require any such restriction; the Mishnah also expresses itself too attentively for this, and has in mind Jewish messengers who would not have been used for the delivery of government letters, since ib. 19, a speaks of private use of the posts. - In the p. 158 used expression of Rosh hashanah 9, b is without doubt he-daira in the sense "letter carrier" from he-doar, and from the latter again the verb dajar, if this did not already mean "wandering around" in itself.

Note 31, to p. 167.

Examples of large revenues from the temple treasury lower the ant. 14, 7, 2, that once 800 talents, which were intended for him, met on the island of Kos, and that of Cicero per Ftacco K. 28

334

of 100 pounds of Gold, which were poured into the Stone Asian Apamea for the Jerusalem Temple, ant. 18, 9, 1 also reports large sums for him from Babytonia. The photographic excerpts

Gifts of a political nature may have been made from the temple treasury: according to 1 Mac. 14, 24. 15, 18, Simon Mackabaeus gave the Romans a Gothic treasure worth 1000 talents; according to Ant. 14, 3, 1, Aristobut gave them a Gothic vine worth 500 talents; and not long after Crassus had completely plundered the temple treasury, according to ib. 14, 8, 5 Ityrca II was already able to send another goddess treasure from or worth 50,000 talents pieces to Rome. Crassus, however, had after

ib. 14, 7, 1 from the temple treasury 2000 talents Silber, 8000 talents in Gold and a Gold bar weighing 300 Jewish talents. The amount of this robbery can only be approximated. The drachma may have been halfway between the atten and the later denarius drachma, in which case it weighed about 3.89 grams and was worth 70 pfennigs. The Jewish

Talent attributes to Josephus the weight of  $2^{1/2}$  Roman pounds, i.e. 820 grams; and I would assume that the talent had 1 times the value of the sester. According to this, the total robbery would have amounted to 42,487,000 marks.

Note 32, to the first contribution p. 182.

Kiddushin jer. 1, 1 we find reported by R. Chija: the denarius is 6 maa, these 2 pondion, 4 issar, 8 mesumis, 16 cordiontes, 32 Perutot. No one disputes that the four names above correspond to the Roman Dupondius, As, Semis and Quadrans, and they also appear in the same order and hatred, and the statement in Kiddushin 1, 1 that the perutot is the eighth part of the "itatic Issar" fits in perfectly with this. What I have already said about this Getd system in my "Preliminary Investigations", I must supplement here and also modify somewhat. That system is the Roman one, but differs greatly from it, because the Roman one did not know the division of the denarius into 6 maa, and therefore did not calculate it as 12 dupondia like R. Chija, but as 8, and did not know the still-mathematical hatbirung of the Quadrans. That such a system, which was Roman in the most essential points and non-Roman in other essentials, was actually executed by coinage under Roman authority is highly untrue to me.

and I therefore believe that I must take R. Chija's remark to mean that the denarius is valued at 6 Maa, the Maa at 2 Dupondien and so on. For this low course, According to wetchem, of each of the Roman copper coins mentioned, 3 were actually only as valid in Palestine as 2 in Rome, there are several reasons: 1) that the Palestinian Jews were previously only very unfamiliar with Sestertius, as we shall see below, and in view of this assumed that he had the value of their coins, also 2 dupondia; or 2) that, just as far as the maa amounted to only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Sestertius, the Roman copper coins in Pataestina were minted soviet teichter ; or 3) that, while the Roman copper coins were conventionally more and more teichter ats according to their copper value, the Jews, with regard to the true copper value of their course. But even if one does not want to accept any of these reasons, the attempted motive does not yet support the view that we do not have before us an effective and then quite adventurous coinage system, but rather the indication of a standing course. This view is reinforced by the fact that we again encounter course indications in the Talmud; we have already seen, for example, that the gold-denarius was calculated at 25 denarii, and at 24 denarii; and in contrast to R. Chija's calculation of the denarius at 24 Issars and of Issar to 8 perutot, according to Tos. B. mezia c. 3 and Kiddushin 12, a the denarius was 30 Issar, the Issar only 6 perutot; perhaps it also belongs here that, according to Maaser scheni 4, 8, one Issar was worth one Dupondius, and the latter one Issar. My assertion earlier, however, that the Palestinian Jews frequently used the Sestertius would not yet have known him properly, is based on the fact that R. Chija passed him over completely, and that he is also only encountered late in the Talmud; this is also very understandable, a copper coin of 32 grams is unhandy, presumably he was therefore not minted much at all, and was certainly brought to Palestine from Italia or elsewhere very rarely.

Note 33, on the second contribution p. 194.

However, I must describe the following information as useless for determining the price of fat and other land. According to Tos. Arachin c. 2, a field which, according to p. 194, measured 1.54 hectares, was considered to be 50 seta: attain here only the pentateuchic assessment was strictly followed, and above all it was based on error, the

LibtiriL'iiGii Scbeket the seta gtoichzastetton. Furthermore, among the Athenians the price of an acre was 10,000 (50 drachra), and considering that the Attic foot was 308 meters long, the attic drachma was worth 78 pennies, this results in 409  $\frac{1}{2}$  Marks for the tteetar; attain to this quite unusually high price rauss the proximity of Athens have strongly contributed. Vottends

the agricultural prices 1 Ex 23, 16. ih. 33, 19. 1 Kings 16, 24.

Indeterminacy not to be utilized. Note

34, p. 199.

In order not to overburden the presentation of the further expansion of the Jewish tribe with citations and other evidence, I will summarize it here. The spread of the later Jews over the entire coast of Palestine and its southern continuation as far as the Egyptian border, as well as over Gatitää and Pertta, has already been proven in earlier settlements, but there is more to be said about Feräa. In Gaiata, according to

ant, 18, 1, 1; this has already been proved by Hipjios in note 27; for Gadara and the considerably more southern Amathus it is given in ant. 14, 5, 4, for the eastern Gcrasa from bett. Jud. 2, 18, 5 and from the mention of a R, Joshua Gerasi, for the regions of Ammon and Moab from Jadajim 4, 3.

The distribution of the Jews who moved to Assyria and later to Babylonia has also been discussed above, but more details can be given about the areas inhabited by the Babylonians in later centuries. According to Kiddushin 72, a they lived in Samosata (Schot-tniscJtoi). That a large number of thesetben in Neh d Ph rus-Shabur,

Pumbadita and Sura tepte, is b k t g n g these places are located on the middle Euphrates, but P l d t n a Euphrates canat, atso presumably somewhat more easterly d b h Ptot. 5, 15, 25

on the western bank of the river A h H l not far from Nehardaa had a Jewish population. They were also known to live in Naresh and Nehar-Peköd, as well as in Moed-katan

28, b in Shakanzib, according to Taanit 24, b in Hagrunia, according to Kiddushin 72, a iu Bairam, and a Chinena son of Eaba ans Pescharonia as well as a K. Chanan from Petör.mentioned in the Pen- tateuch is mentioned in the Tatmud, but the Lt^je

hL

337

this sietien places me mibekaunt. According to aiit. 18, 9, 1, Nesibis must even have had a strong Jewish population. The fact that the descendants of the Assyrian exiles iu Adiabcne were baby-tonic Jews were now strongly Judaized, cannot be doubted at all, and regarding the statements of Kiddushin 71, b of other Jewish "residences on the upper Tigris, I have to tell you about my öe-

were in Machusa on the Tigris; and that in Ktesipiion as well as in G-iCtiu (i, a) shows that the people of Chabit-jamma inhabited the Bä-Ärdschir, which was close to it. According to Kiddushin 72, a, the landscape of Chabit-jamma was that of Borsippa and was inhabited by Jnden of the "purest Bntes", who came to the context in large numbers. According to ib. 71, b, an upper and lower Aparaea day inhabited by Jnden, according to Ptui. 6, 32, where the Euphrat into the Tigris. Maisan, the southernmost province of Babytonia, was also said to have had a Jewish population, which, however, was heavily mixed with pagan blood, but Jebamot jer. 1, 6; and that there was a sotche given in C h a r a x, is woht to be inferred from ant. 20, 2, 3. 4. In Seteucia on the Tigris, the largest trading town in Babytonieu under The Seteucids and later still, many Jews certainly once lived in the Tatmud, but none of this could be found there, as it was completely destroyed by the Ottomans in the second century.

Let us now turn to the Jewish residences in more western countries, only I have a few remarks to make.

1) According to 1 Maek. 15, 22. 23, around 141 B.C. a red mish consut letters in favor of the Jews to many of the kings, countries and cities listed there, which should undoubtedly prove that Jews lived in these countries and cities. Now one doubts the truth of this information, but never without reason, compare my Geschichte des Votkes Jisraet 2, 324 and so on. ; moreover, it will subsequently emerge from other irrefutable citations that quite a few of the countries and cities mentioned in the Mackaböer book did not effectively have a Jewish population much later, and this makes his message regarding the very few places for which there is a lack of other evidence all the more deceptive. - 2) Phito names II. 587 four countries as well as some islands and cities in which Jews lived in his time.

tebten : it is to this sentence that I will refer, for the sake of brevity, to btos "Phito" in the text. - 3) Where in the Acts of the Apostles a Jewish population is ascribed to individual cities, I see

^

338

There is no reason to doubt this statement; itage^jen from the list in ib. 2, 9 - 11 I believe I must refrain from doing so, since this stette schwertich a gcsctiichttictie Gruudtajie tiat, only know ■ We have received reports from other sources that there were Jews among them. It should also be noted that

The Christian communities mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles were composed entirely, or at least to a considerable extent, of local Jews, but I will refrain from saying this unless it can be stated more precisely for one of these communities.

Now, geographically speaking, I now turn to Phoenicia, It has already been inferred from Obadiah v. 20 that in the Exit Jews pursued the merchant business as far as Sarepta; and with the state of Palestine at that time, a steady return there was not necessarily connected with this. According to Hecaeus (vergt. contra Ap. 1, 22), after the death of Alexander, Jews emigrated in large numbers to Phoenicia, and Phito also became their place of residence. In Arados, according to 1 Mack. 15, 23 around 141 BC. had been a church, and Ant. 14, 12, 6 also speaks for this. The Jews in Tyre are bett. Jud. 2, 18, 5, those in Sidon ib. and ant. 14, 10, 6 and Ernbin 47, b.

The rest of Syria: According to ant. 12, 3, 1 Seteukus Nikator gave the Jews civil rights in Antioch and the other cities built by him in Lower Syria, atso also in Seteucia, Apames and Laodicea by the sea; the Jews of Apamea we find bett. Jud. 2, 18, 5 and Chatta 6, 11, whereas the Laodicea, wetches Shabbat 119, a. Ab.' sara jer. 3, 1 and where Taanit 18, b also appears to have been inhabited by Jews, was presumably the eastern part of the -Antitibanus. The Jews in Damascus are bett. Jud. 2, 20, 2. 7, 8, 7 and Apostetgesch. 22, 12; and according to Jebaniot 16, a. ib. jer. 1, 6, Jews must also have lived in Patmyra (Tadmor); the identity of Tarmud in the former site with Tadmor was proven in my History 3, 341. Desgteichen strangle the legend Syncdrin jer. 10, 6, that Nebuchadnezzar had transferred a part of the Exutants to Daphne near Antioch, is severely if Jews had not been living there since time immemorial. There is also some probability that Jews lived in Hierapotis, as far as it had a tebhaften Handet, as far as its native name was Mabug and a scribe named Sebachim 9, b occurs; that this place was a

339

headquarters of Derketocuttus knew enough, shows Ab. sara 11, b. Phito counts among the seats of the Jews "the rest of Syria" and Cötesyria, and the Jews in Tetzer are also mentioned in Ant. 12, 3, 3. Yes to bett. Jud. 2, 18, 2, in Nero's time the Jews must have lived in a fairly tich of every city of Syria must have been very numerous, with which ib. 7, 3, 3 agrees perfectly.

With regard to Stone Asia in general, Phito says that the Jews inhabited xa TzoXka trfi 'Aqfa? as far as Bithynia and the innermost corners of Pontus. But let us examine their individual I^and-



Acts 6, 9, and according to ib. 21, 39 there was a community in its capital Tarsus. Jews in Paraphytia and by name in the Pamphytic city of Side, desgteichen iu Lycien and by name in the Tycian city of Phaseiis are stated in 1 Mack. 15, 23, which in Pamphytia also by Phito. - In the interior: Jews in Cappadocia are mentioned by ib. 15, 22 (the Ariarathes mentioned there was a king of this tiand) and by Ketubot 13, 11. Berachot 56, b. Shabbat 26, a. In Lycaonia, according to Acts 14, 1. 16, 1. 3, the cities of Iconium, Derbe and Lystra had Jewish communities; and in Pisidia, according to ib. 13, 14 Antioch had a sotche. After Phrygia and Lydia, Antiochus M. 2000 had Jewish Famitia from Mesopotamia and Babytonia (ant. 12, 3, 4), and in addition the Phrygian cities of Apamea and Laodicca appear in Cicero per Ftacco c. 28 to be inhabited by Jews. That can from Ancyra, the capital of Gatatia, according to ant. 16, 6, 2 not be doubtful; also Gat. 4, 9, that the Christian community of the Gathatians was made up of Jews. - On the north coast: In the Pontus region, they must have arrived very early. if it is correct that the Tibarenes are to be understood by Tubat Isa. 66, 19; in any case, we have already seen that Ptiito knows of Jews there, and of a Jew Akytas from Pontus we read Apostetgcsch. 18, 2. For Sampsamc, where according to 1 Mack. 15, 23, the Syriac version has Samsius: it is probably the seaside town of Samsun on the border of Pontus and Paphta-Gonis, and this must be identical with Amisus. The fact that the translator of the Bible, Akytas, was from Sinope does not mean that Jews lived there, as he was a prosolyte: but imniortiin spri(;tit something for it a note of Sifra 238, a, nacti wetcher he also later btieb with his Iteimath, and watirschoin- tich it is anyway enough. We also already tiabcn from Ptiito orsohon,

0') - 'fi

340

that until Bithyiiien tiiuciu Jews lived. Then already in Note 9 shows that Scfarad, where, according to Obadiah v. 20, Jews lived so early, must have been in northwestern Asia Minor, whether it was a part of Bithj^nia or Mysia or of JiVdia; and there is no reason to suppose that they did not survive down to later times. The fact that they were used in the preferably from Mysia and Lydia The fact that there were Jews living in the kingdom of Attatus is shown by 1 Mack. 15, 22; the capital of which, Pergamum, belonged to Mysia, and that Jews lived there as well as in the Mysian city of Adramyttium, shows Cicero a. a. 0. Also not far from the city Ant andres, and from it seems to come a R. Judan, who Ab. sara jer. 1, 2 Antudria is to be used for what Antandria is to be used for is. - In the rest of the western part of Cteinasia: From Jews in

according to ant. 14, 10, 14. 17. 16, 6, 6 in Särdes, according to ib. 14, 10, 20. 21 in Trattes, according to Apocat. 3, 9 also woht in Phitadetphia. Jews in Tonia I assume according to Isa. 66, 19 already for the Exodus period, but according to Ant. 16, 2, 3 "many Jews lived in the Ionian cities"; already the followers of Seteukus. Nicator according to contra Ap. 2, 4 they sot in Ephesus and the rest of Tonia, and likewise we find them ant. 14, 10, 12 in Ephesus and in neighboring cities (xaxa izöXeii)^ to which ib. 16, 6, 4 may be compared; furthermore, from ib. 14, 10, 21 that they were in Mitet, and according to Apocat. 2, 9 it is highly probable from Smyrna tich. Incidentally, one part of western Stone Asia was known as "the province of Asia", and that Jews lived in it, emerges from many Tatmudic sources, of which I will cite btos Megitta 18, b. Finally, 1 Mack. 15, 23, that Sotche in maps, name- tich lived in the Carian cities of Myndos, Hatikarnassos and Knidos; ant. 14, 10, 23 also testifies to Hatikarnassos. According to B. kamma 113, a, Jews must also have lived in Setirin; it is but it is easier to say that Zephyrion is meant than which Z. one has to think of here, because there was a sotches in Gatatia, in Cappadocia, in Citicia, and some others outside of Cteinasia.

Let's now sample an approach from Insetn. According to 1 Mack. 15, 23, Jews must have lived in Cyprus as early as 141 BC; For a slightly later time this is attested in ant. 13, 10, 4, and also Phito knows them there; in Satamis on Cyprus, according to Apostetg.

341

13, 5 a Jewish community. The terrible revolt of the Cypriot Jews under Trajan (Dio Cassius 68, 32) even shows how numerous they were on this island. The fact that on Rhodus and Jews lived on the islands of Kos and Samos off the west coast of Cteinasia, 1 Mack. 15, 23, and for Kos can also be ant. 14, 7, 2 can also be cited. Jews on Crete are bett. Jud. 2, 7, 1 Josephi vita § 76 as well as by Phito, and that they lived in the city of Gortyna there is again shown by 1 Mack. 15, 23.

The latter inset has brought us over to Europe. Phito testifies that there were Jews in Macedonia, and Acts 17, 1, 10 speaks of Jewish communities in the Macedonian cities of Thessatonich and Beroea; according to ib. 16, 13 - 16 there was probably also one in Phitippi. Phito speaks of Jews in Thessatia, Aetolia, Boeotia and Attica, and the Jewish community in Athens is mentioned in Acts 17, 17. Phito even says of the Peto- ponnessus that most and the best of it is made up of Jews. but he lists A r g o s and K o r i n t h as the seats of the same by name; incidentally, Sicyon and Sparta appear as sotche 1 Mack. 15, 23 already more than a century earlier, and the peculiar

book, as well as the 2 Mack. 5, 9, about the flight of the high priest Jason to Sparta, are best explained by the fact that there was a Jewish community there, see my history of Jisraet 2, 202. Phito also speaks of Jews on Euboea, and that they lived on the Cycadic islands of Metos, Detos and Paros is shown by bett.

Jud. 2, 7, 1. 2. ant. 14, 10, 8. - In Itatia, for the period to which I limit this muster, I can prove it only in two cities, in Rome from Cicero pro Ftacco c. 28. Phito II. 568.

bed. Jud. 2, 6, 1 Pesachim 53, a, and in Dicaearchia (later Puteoti) from bett. Jud. 2, 7, 1 Acts 28, 14 (Mention is also made of Catabria Shekatim jer. 6, 2, but not as the residence of Jews).

- The fact that they also have to be in Spain at the time of the exit was resident there, was discussed on p. 56; and that Jews were again living there in some numbers in Pautus' time is shown by the message in Romans 15, 24. 28, that he wanted to travel there, naturally to win Jewish proselytes, also vergt. Jonatan to Obadiah v. 20 and the mention of a scripturally learned R. Ba from Carthagera Taanit jer. 2, 2.

Whether Jews in landscapes west of Aegypteu already belonged to the time of the prophets was discussed in note 9. Nacti Cyrene, however, according to contra Ap. 2 , 4, a large number of thesetben of

342

Ptut. Lagi; and how numerous they were there later is shown in Am. 14, 7, 2. 16, 6, 1. heU. Jud. 7. 11, 2. Dio Cassius 68, 32.

The rest of Libya is also inhabited according to ant. 16, 6, 1 Viète, for the large number of Jews in Egypt, namely in Al ex an - drien and the landscape of the Oniastcmpt, are cited; according to 3 Mack. 4, 3 they also lived in other areas of the country, according to

ib. 7, 1? also in the south of the mid-Sgypti already Ptotemais |.;etegenen, and the novelistic nature of the Büchteins can add as little to this information as Phito in Ftaccum § 6 even says that they lived in "all of Egypt". Clay Jews iu Aetbiopicn is already .Tes. 11, 11 the kede, of which Apostetg. 8, 37 Sotche presupposes, and the later mentions of thesetben (vergt. my history 3, 524. 533) leave no doubt about it.

In Arabia, too, there were Jews, even in several communities.

The patestiniscbg toparchy Idumtta": this was a genuine Jewish landscape, according to bett. Jud. 4, 9, 7 Tag Hebron in dersetben, and it htess btos so far as it had once been occupied by the Idumeans for Jan(i;e time, uachmats but was taken from them again. The Jews, however, initially

in the Petra region of Arabia. The western part of this landscape was called Chagar, while the eastern part, in which Petra was located, was called Rek'iu, perhaps after its capital, for ant. 4, 7, 1 Kekem and Petra are ideutificated; and the Petraic landscape Gebate ne tag is presumed to be even more eastern, although Eusebius understands this to mean the area around Petra, from the expression aut. 3, 2, 1 "the Go-

now Jews lived in Chagar is shown by Gittiu 1, 1 and a citation that is still to come; and that they lived in Gebateue is dai'ch Ab. sara jer. 2, 4 vouchsafed, yes according to Synedrin 97, a and Sota 49, b the Jewish population there must even be <<ehi zahtieii he ^eweiseu. According to Gittin 1, 1, however, tuih tu Kekem Jews lived toh is Nidda 56, b the counter-work stated by the fvsafot at both The attempts of this wideispiucb of the king were not altogether satisfactory, and it seems to me that Jews did not live in the I and shaft of Eekem (tia-Bekeni), but in its main city Petra, the seat of the known enemy chiefs, or may not always be admitted. 6, 1 and Tob Sthebiit c 4 the borders of the Jewish land are given and howviet also both '^teUeu duitb Oorruptioaeü ertitten, so tä'-'.t saw deuttiih eikenneu thatt.

on

343

They also include localities of Petra Arabia in these borders, according to which Jews did not live there, if

The addition that those who returned from Babet had already taken possession of these areas again must also be disclosed. Namely, migddt Charitb, Rafiach of Chagar and Jtekam-gea are also mentioned: the former, presumably identical with the one inhabited by Jews according to Taanit jer. 4, ö kefar Chariba, which is inhabited by Jews, is also ant. 14,

1, 4; Kafiach has even received the epithet "xtes Chagar", and is the well-known seaside town of Baphia; finally Rekam-gea, as Onketos usually renders Zxdesck-harneä, but it is not in Eekem. There is actually no need to prove that Jews

could have been drawn to these benaehbarteu regions, but gteich- woht it should be pointed out that according to 1 Mack. 5 , 3 already before the

Mac k ab ä Jews had moved in large numbers to the region south of the dead sea, furthermore that according to 2 Mack. 13, 24 Judah Mackabaeus became governor as far as the Gerrhenians south of Ithinö- kotura, that according to ant. 13, 9, 1 Jocaban subdued Hyrcanus a part of Iduraea, and according to ib. 13, 15, 4 the reign of Köuiga Jannäus still included Raphia and Ehinokotnra: in the course of such events, many Jews will have gone there and not all of them left again when the political situation became unfavorable aftermats. I do not want to put too much emphasis on this, but I would like to point out that the setar of the Barkochba may also have been in Idumea (I have summarized the evidence for this in an essay "On the History of the Barkochba" in Frankei's monthly magazine of 1856),

and that this landscape was later called Pataestina tertia. But I do not know where in Arabia Basgar or Baskar day, where according to Shabbat 139, a and Midrash Echa 75, a Jews lived, is located. Also

It is doubtful whether there were Jews in the Gulf of the Sea from ancient times or whether they returned to this region later; and about the Jewish tribes that were present in the Hejaz in later times, I have not yet been able to say.

I have given an assumption in the text. Finally, in southernmost Arabia, where according to Jost already from 120 BC, but in any case

not much later, the Himjarites were again reigning over Jadian kings must have been home to a large number of Jews quite early on, especially since Josephus mentions "the most distant Arabs" in § 2 of his preface to the Jewish War in such a way that he can only have understood this to mean Jews. It also seems to me that only from Jewish settlements there can it be ascertained that Ftinus

4

1  
^

i

^

344

1

M

6, 32 on iter Sürtküfite Aratiieus two feet next to each other erw  
netetie Tbaraar umt Amuou iiieasen; in itself already deserved  
respect to meet there Jewish names, but to find even two histoi  
connected Jewish names there next to each other, can  
for coincidental, but btos be erktSirt from the fact that someone from  
there sess- haften Jews two feet of their (Jebiet jokingly so called  
snd these namuii)^ tängere time sieb erhielt.

I have been able to provide no citations for the presence of Jews in  
any of the places listed here, and I deliberately refrained from  
making other assumptions, even where these could be made very

probable.